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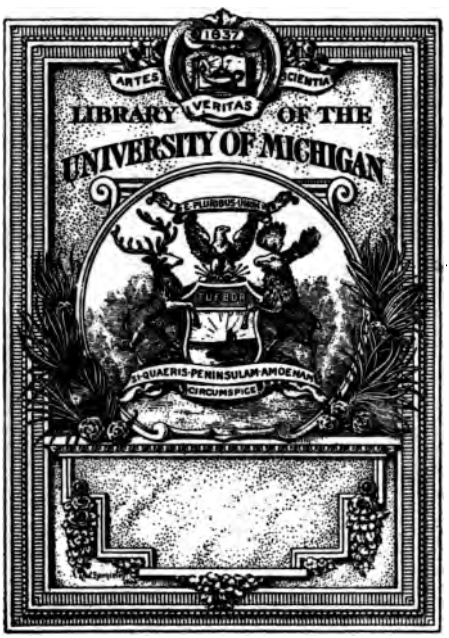
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# TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

# HISTORIC SOCIETY

OF

# LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE.

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SESSION 1863-64.

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1864.

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This Volume has been edited by the Assistant Secretary, under the direction of the Council. The Writers of Papers, however, are alone responsible for the facts and opinions contained in their respective communications.

## EXPLANATORY NOTE.

The seven illustrations of Mr. Jeffery's Paper are the gift of that gentleman; the two maps illustrating the Researches of the Dutch Ladies (from originals prepared under the supervision of Mr. Towson at Mr. Tinne's expense) have been lithographed and printed at the cost of the Society; as have been plates X and XI, from drawings prepared by Mr. Newton.

709

# COUNCIL AND OFFICERS FOR 1863-4.

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## Assistant Secretary.

J. H. Genn Esq., 37, Elizabeth Street, Liverpool.

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# LIST OF MEMBERS.

## SESSION XVI—1863-64.

The first List was dated 23rd November, 1848; all whose names appeared in it are therefore Original Members. Those who have been enrolled as Mayors or Sheriffs have their year of office attached.

The letter P denotes that the Members, in connexion with whose name it occurs, have read papers before the Society.

Those whose names are printed in SMALL CAPITALS are Members of the Council; and in *Italics* are Life Members.

Those marked thus * are Resident. The post town Liverpool is usually omitted.

### A

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | 23rd Nov., 1848. | *Ainslie, Montague*, Grizedale, Hawkshead, Windermere. |
| | 1st Dec., 1859. | Ainslie, P. B., F.S.A. Scot., Guildford. |
| | 4th Dec., 1862. | *Anderson, John, 42, Bold street. |
| | 17th Dec., 1857. | *Anderson, Thomas Darnley, 5, India buildings, Water street, and West Dingle. |
| | 3rd May, 1849. | *Anderson, Thomas Francis, Holly lodge, Fairfield, and 3, Cable street. |
| | 4th Dec., 1856. | Ansdell, John, St. Helens. |
| | 23rd Nov., 1848. | Ansdell, Richard, A.R.A., Lytham house, St. Alban's road, Kensington, W., London. |
| | 15th Sept., 1854. | Arrowsmith, P. R., The Ferns, Bolton. |
| | 2nd Dec., 1858. | Artingstall, George, Warrington. |
| P. | 4th Dec., 1862. | Ashfield, Charles Joseph, 9, Regent street, Preston. |
| P. | 11th May, 1854. | Aspland, Rev. R. Brook, M.A., Frampton villas, South Hackney, London. |
| P. | 9th Oct., 1854. | Atherton, Henry, Sutton, Prescot. |
| H.Sh. | Cheshire, 1857. | *Atkinson, William*, Ashton heyes, Chester. |
| | 23rd Nov., 1848. | *Avison, Thomas, F.S.A., 18, Cook street, and Fulwood park, Aigburth. |

### B

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| P. | 3rd Jan., 1861. | *Baar, Rev. Hormann, Ph.Dr., 98, Bedford street South. |
| | 8th June, 1854. | *Banning, John Johnson, 20, Castle street. |
| P. | 4th Dec., 1862. | Barry, Rev. W. T., B.A. |
| | 3rd Dec., 1863. | *Barron, Charles, 54, Tower buildings, and 26, Richmond terrace. |
| | 7th Feb., 1861. | *Bartlett, William, 22, North John street. |
| | 12th Jan., 1860. | *Bath, William H. P., 54, Grove street. |

6th March, 1862. *Bazley, Thomas*, M.P., Hayesleigh, Manchester, and Reform Club, London, S.W.
P. 6th Dec., 1849. Beamont, William, Warrington.
21st May, 1857. *Bean, Edwin, Revenue buildings.
15th April, 1858. *Bell, Christopher, Back Goree.
23rd Nov., 1848. *Bell, Henry, Hamilton square, and Grosvenor road, Claughton, Birkenhead.
15th Nov., 1854. *Belshaw, John, Wason buildings, 4, Harrington st.
23rd Nov., 1848. *Bennett, William, Sir Thomas's buildings, and 109, Shaw street.
7th March, 1850. Birch, Sir Thomas Bernard, Bart., The Hazles, Prescot.
23rd., Nov., 1848. Birchall, Major Thos., Ribbleton hall, Preston.
P. 1st May, 1862. BIRKENHEAD, E. H., B. Sc., F.G.S., Worsley mesnes, Wigan.
4th March, 1852. Birley, Rev. John Shepherd, Halliwell hall, Preston.
P. 8th Jan., 1852. Birley, T. Langton, Carr hill, Kirkham.
19th April, 1860. *Birnie, D. E.
6th Dec., 1855. Black, J., M.D., F.G.S., 2, George's square, Edinburgh.
23rd Nov., 1848. Blackburne, John Ireland, The Hall, Hale.
20th Sept., 1854. Blackmore, William, 10, Watergate street, and Hooton, Chester.
20th Sept., 1854. *Bloxam, Frederick William.
23rd Nov., 1848. *Blundell, Thomas Weld, Ince Blundell, Great Crosby.
5th May, 1853. Booth, Benjamin Witham, Swinton, Manchester.
1st May, 1856. Booth, John Billington, Overleigh house, Preston.
15th Dec., 1853. Bossi, Arthur, Paris.
3rd Jan., 1856. *Bouch, Thomas, 1, Oldhall street, and New Brighton.
P. 23rd Nov., 1848. *Boult, Joseph, North John street, and Parkfield road, Aigburth road.
8th Dec., 1851. Bourne, Cornelius, Stalmine hall, Preston.
15th April, 1858. *Bower, Anthony, Vauxhall foundry, and Seaforth.
6th Dec., 1855. Bowes, John, Blue Coat School, Warrington.
13th Nov., 1851. Brackstone, R. H., Lyncombe hill, Bath.
15th Dec., 1853. Bradbury, Charles, Salford crescent, Manchester.
17th Dec., 1857. *Bradley, William Gibson, 52, Bold street, and 18, Kenyon terrace, Birkenhead.
23rd Nov., 1848 *Brakell, Thomas, 7, Cook street, and 23, Richmond terrace, Everton.
Mayor Liv., 1848-9. *Bramley-Moore, John, M.P., Hon. Mem. Archæol. Association, Aigburth.
30th Dec., 1854. Brent, Francis, Custom house, Plymouth.
P. 7th May, 1863. *BRIGHT, E. B., 2, Exchange buildings, and Waterloo.
P. 9th March, 1854. *Bright, Henry Arthur, A.M., Fairfield, and 1, North John street.
4th Feb., 1864. Bright, Sir Charles Tilston, C.E., F.R.S, 12, Hyde park gardens, London.
3rd May, 1849. Brooke, Henry, Forest hill, Northwich.
6th March, 1851. *Brooke, Richard, jun.*, Norton priory, Runcorn.

23rd Nov., 1848. **Brown, Colonel Sir William*, Bart.
15th March, 1855. *Browne, G. Mansfield, 15, South hill, Park road.
11th Sept., 1854. *Burke, William, 17, Bagot street, Smithdown road, Treasurer.
17th Sept., 1854. Burnell, Rev. Samuel, A.M., Winwick, Warrington.
P. 15th Dec., 1853. *Buxton, David, F.R.S.L., Principal of the Liverpool Deaf and Dumb Institution, Oxford street.

C

23rd Nov., 1848. *Caine, Nathaniel, 12, Dutton street.
3rd Dec., 1857. *Calder, Rev. William, A.M., Fairfield
1st Dec., 1859. Callender, W. Romaine, jun., F.S.A., Ashburne house, Rusholme, Manchester.
P. 6th Dec., 1855. Calvert, F. Crace, Ph.Dr. F.R.S., F.C.S., M.R.A. Turin, Royal Institution, Manchester.
23rd Nov., 1848. *Campbell, Rev. Augustus, A.M., 131, Duke street, and The Vicarage, Childwall.
18th Dec., 1856. *Campbell, William, Captain & Adjutant R.L.M.A. Artillery barracks, Rupert lane.
4th April, 1850. *Carlisle, His Excellency the Earl of*, K.G., Castle Howard, Yorkshire, and The Castle, Dublin.
18th Dec., 1856. Cartwright, Samuel, Bushell place, Preston.
6th Dec., 1859. *Casson, William, 29, Parliament street, and 3, Great George square.
27th Sept., 1854. *Casey, George, Naylor street, and Walton.
3rd Dec., 1857. *Chadburn, Charles Henry, 71, Lord street, and Egremont, Birkenhead.
H.Sh.Chesh., 1855-6. *Chapman, John*, M.P., Hill End, Mottram-in-Longdendale.
21st May, 1857. Cheetham, John, Eastwood, Stalybridge.
Cheshire, the High Sheriff of, Vice-President, *ex officio*.
2nd June, 1853. *Chester, the Lord Bishop of*, The Palace, Chester.
23rd Nov., 1858. *Clare, John Leigh, 11, Exchange buildings, and Richmond terrace, Brock road.
14th April, 1859. *Clement, Leonard*, Trinity terrace, Burnley.
24th May, 1855. Comber, Thomas.
18th Dec., 1856. Corser, Rev. Thomas, A.M., Stand, Manchester.
4th Dec., 1862. Cranborne, Rt. Hon. Viscount, Childwall hall.
6th Dec., 1849. *Crosfield, Henry, 4, Temple place, and Edge mount, Edge lane.
9th Jan., 1862. Cross, Richard Assheton, Warrington.
23rd Nov., 1848. Crosse, Thomas Bright, Shawe hill, Chorley.
2nd May, 1850. Crossley, James, F. S. A., President of the Chetham Society, 6, Booth street, Piccadilly, Manchester.
P. 23rd Nov., 1848. *Cust, Lieut.-Gen. the Hon. Sir Edward, K.C.H., D.C.L., F.R.S., Leasowe Castle, Cheshire, Claremont, Surrey, and Hill street, London.

D

23rd Sept., 1854. *Davies, Comenius, 110, Paddington, Edge hill.
3rd March, 1864. *Davies, John, jun., 6, King street, Edge hill.

19th March, 1863. Dawson, E., Aldcliffe hall, Lancaster.
23rd Nov., 1848. *_Dawson, Henry_, 30, Redcross street, and 15, St. James's road.
P. 2nd May, 1850. *Dawson, Thomas, M.R.C.S. Eng., 26, Rodney st.
23rd April, 1857. _Devonshire, His Grace The Duke of_, K.G., D.C.L., F.R.S., Chatsworth, Derbyshire, and Devonshire house, London.
7th May, 1851. *_Dickinson, Joseph_, M.A., M.D., F.R.C.P., F.R.S., F.L.S., M.R.I.A., 92, Bedford street South.
P. 20th Dec., 1855. Dobson, William, Chronicle office, Preston.
P. 7th March, 1853. *Dove, Percy M., F.S.S., F.I.A., Royal Insurance office, 1, North John street, and Castledon lodge, Claughton road, Birkenhead.
4th Nov., 1858. *Drysdale, C. Alexander, 11, King street, and 7, Elm terrace, Fairfield.
23rd Nov., 1848. *Duarte, Ricardo Thomaz, 2, Royal bank buildings.
13th Sept., 1854. *Duncan, Thomas, 44, West Derby street.

E

5th Nov., 1863. *Eastee, George, 6, Harrington street.
1st Jan., 1857. *Eaton, Francis James, Richmond terrace, Breck road, and 18, Queen Insurance buildings.
9th Dec., 1852. Eckersley, Thomas, Wigan.
6th March, 1862. *Edwards, Edward, Adelaide buildings, Chapel street, and Holly lodge, Fairfield.
6th March, 1862. Egerton, Hon. Algernon, M.P., Worsley Old hall, Manchester.
7th Jan., 1851. _Egerton, Hon. Wilbraham_, M.P., Rostherne hall, Knutsford.
6th March, 1862. _Egerton of Tatton, Rt. Hon. the Lord_, Tatton park, Knutsford.
P. 23rd Nov., 1848. _Egerton, Sir Philip De Malpas Grey_, Bart., M.P., F.R.S., F.G.S., Oulton park, Tarporley.
23rd Nov., 1848. *Evans, Edward, 56, Hanover street.
4th Nov., 1858. *Evans, Edward Francis, Revenue buildings.
8th Nov.. 1849. *Evans, Thomas Bickerton, 56, Hanover street.
23rd Nov., 1848. *Ewart, Joseph Christopher, M.P., 64, Pall Mall, London, and New Brighton.
6th May, 185? _Ewart, William_, M.P., 6, Cambridge square, Hyde park, London, and Broadleas, Devizes.

F

7th Feb., 1861. *Fabert, J. O. W., 3, St. James's walk.
3rd Dec., 1857. Fairbairn, William, F.R.S., Manchester.
23rd Nov., 1848. *Finlay, William, Liverpool College.
15th April, 1858. *Forrest, J. A., 58, Lime street, and 5, Charlesville, Claughton, Birkenhead.
5th Dec., 1850. Forster, Wilson, Sweden Bank, Ambleside.
6th March, 1862. _Fort, Richard_, Woolley hall, Maidenhead, and Read hall, Clitheroe.
23rd Sept., 1854. *Forwood, T. B., 11, Dale street, and The Hollies, Fairfield.

7th May, 1857. *Frackelton, Rev. S. S.* A.M., Ballynahinch, Ireland.
15th Dec., 1853. Franks, Augustus Woollaston, A.M., F.S.A., British Museum, London.
6th Jan., 1853. *French, Gilbert Jas.*, F.S.A., F.G.H.S., Corr. Mem. S.A.Scot., Bolton. (MEMBER OF THE COUNCIL.)
7th Jan., 1858. Frost, Meadows, 25, The Albany, Oldhall street, and St. John's house, Chester.

G

14th Dec., 1848. *Gardner, Richard Cardwell, Colonial buildings, 34, Dale street, and Newsham house.
3rd May, 1849. Garnett, Wm. James, M.P., Quernmore park, Lancaster.
23rd Nov., 1848. *Gaskell, John Rooth, Exchange court, Exchange street East.
7th Feb., 1859. *Gath, Samuel, 45, Shaw street, Everton.
18th Dec., 1856. *Gerard, Henry, 10, Rumford place.
P. 20th Nov., 1856. *GIBSON, A. CRAIG, F.S.A., Stonesfield, Bebington, Birkenhead, HON. LIBRARIAN.
1st May, 1862. *GIBSON, J. H., 144, Vauxhall road.
5th Nov., 1863. *Gibson, Thomas, 37, Oxford street.
7th March, 1850. *Gill, Robert.
3rd Dec., 1863. Gill, Chapple, Gateacre.
6th March, 1862. *Gladstone, Rt. Hon. W. E.*, M.P., Chancellor of the Exchequer, 11, Carlton house terrace, London, S.W., PRESIDENT.
P. 15th April, 1858. *Glover, John.
4th Dec., 1862. *Goodier, Thomas, 9, Lord street.
19th Dec., 1852. *Graves, Samuel Robert, 13, Redcross street.
21st Sept., 1854. Gray, Rev. R. H., A.M., Kirkby, Prescot.
14th Dec., 1848. Gray, Thomas, Manager and Secretary, Unity Insurance office, London.
6th Feb., 1851. Gray, William, M.P., Darcy Lever hall, Bolton.
2nd Dec., 1858. *Greame, Malcolm, Colonial buildings, Dale street.
4th Dec., 1862. Green, John Henry, Buenos Ayres.
23rd Nov., 1848. Greenall, Rev. Richard, A.M., Incumbent of Stretton, R.D., Stretton, Warrington.
16th Sept., 1854. Greene, John Stock Turner, Adlington hall, Chorley.
31st Aug., 1854. Grenside, Rev. William Bent, A.M., Melling Vicarage, Lancaster.
19th March, 1857. *Grimmer, W. Henry, Delta chambers, Cable street.
13th March, 1862. Grosvenor, Rt. Hon. the Earl, M.P., Calveley, Tarporley.
8th Nov., 1849. *Guyton, Joseph.

H

21st May, 1857. *Hall, Charlton R., 19, Dale street, and Liscard castle, Birkenhead.
1st May, 1862. **Hall, J. J.*, 28, London road.
10th Dec., 1857. *Hancock, Thomas S., Sweeting street, and Birkenhead.

P. 6th arch, 1856. Hardwick, Charles, Preston, and 100, City road, Hulme, Manchester.
12th Jan., 1854. *Harrison, William*, F.S.A., F.G.S., &c., Galligreaves hall, Blackburn.
9th Feb., 1864. *Harrowby, Rt. Hon. the Earl of*, D.C.L., F.R.S., Sandon hall, Staffordshire, and 39, Grosvenor square, London.
23rd April, 1857. *Hartington, Most Noble the Marquess of*, M.P., Chatsworth, Derbyshire, and Devonshire house, London.
10th Feb., 1853. **Hartley, John Bernard*, The Grove, Allerton.
P. 11th Oct., 1854. *Hartnup, J., F.R.A.S., Observatory.
14th April, 1864. *Haughton, Thomas, Blue Coat Hospital.
23rd Nov., 1848. Hawkins, Edward, F.R.S., V.P.S.A., F.L.S., British Museum, London.
27th Sept., 1854. *Healey, Samuel R., 48, Castle street, and Westbank, Woolton.
24th Oct., 1854. Heginbottom, George, Albert terrace, Ashton-under-Lyne.
11th May, 1854. Henderson, Ebenezer, LL.D.
8th May, 1856. *Henderson, William, 13, Church street, and Rock park, Birkenhead.
23rd Nov., 1848. *Heywood, James*, F.R.S., F.S.A., F.G.S., 26, Kensington Palace Gardens, London, W.
23rd Nov., 1848. *Heywood, Sir Benjamin*, Bart., F.R.S., F.S.S., Claremont, Manchester.
P. 23rd Nov., 1848, *Heywood, Thomas*, F.S.A., Hope end, Ledbury, Herefordshire.
P. 4th Jan., 1849. *Hibbert, Thomas Dorning, 39, Sackville street, Everton.
P. 12th Sept., 1854. Higgins, Rev. Henry H., A.M., Rainhill.
P. 23rd Nov., 1848. Hill, Rev. John Wilbraham, M.A., Waverton, Cheshire.
P. 21st Sept., 1854. Hill, Samuel.
26th April, 1855. *Hinde, Rev. Edmund, A.M., 36, Hope street.
P. 8th Dec., 1851. Hinde, John Hodgson, Stelling hall, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
23rd Sept., 1854. *Hindmarsh, Fred.*, F.G.S., F.R.G.S., Bucklersbury, London.
12th Jan., 1860. *Holden, Adam, 48, Church street.
18th Dec., 1856. *Holden, Thomas*, Springfield, Bolton.
13th Feb., 1862. Holt, Charles, Beech house, Sharples, near Bolton.
24th Sept., 1854. *Holt, William D., 23, Edge lane.
10th May, 1860. *Hornby, Gerard, 177, Breck road, and 36, South Castle street.
7th May, 1857. *Horner, W., 34, South Castle street, and Eldon house, Oxton.
23rd Nov., 1848. *Horsfall, Thomas Berry, M.P., Bellamour hall, Staffordshire.
6th Dec., 1860. *Houghton, James, 84, Rodney street.
14th April, 1853. **Houghton, Richard H., jun.*, Sandheys, Waterloo.
4th Dec., 1856. *Howell, Edward, 6, Church street.
Mayor La. 1849-50. Howitt, Thomas, Lancaster.
P. 8th Nov., 1849. *Howson, Rev. John Saul, D.D., Principal of Liverpool College.

27th Sept., 1854. *Hubback, Joseph, 1, Brunswick street, and Aigburth.
P. 10th Dec., 1857. *Hughes, John R., 67, Rock view, South hill road.
14th Sept., 1854. *Hughes, Joseph, 2, Upper Duke street, and 9, Brownlow hill.
16th Sept., 1854. *Hughes, J. B., 5, Wesley place, and 4, Clayton square.
6th April, 1854. *Hughes, Thomas, 2, Groves terrace, Chester.
8th Feb., 1862. Hulton, William Adams, Hurst grange, Preston.
Mayor Ch. 1851-52. Humberston, Philip Stapleton, M.P., Chester.
P. 23rd Nov. 1848. *Hume, Rev. Abraham, D.C.L., LL.D., F.S.A., F.S.S., F.R.S. North. Ant. Copenhagen, Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot., Hon. Mem. of the Society of Antiquaries, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 24, Clarence street, Everton, Hon. Secretary.
21st May, 1857. *Hume, Hamilton*, F.R.G.S., Cooma, Yass, New South Wales.
6th Jan., 1859. *Hunt, Richard, 9, Castle street, and Linacre Marsh, Bootle.
11th Feb, 1864. *Hussey, John, Church street, Birkenhead.
9th Dec., 1853. *Hutchison, Robert, 12, Sweeting street, and 6, Canning street.

J

1st April, 1852. *Jacob, John Gibborn, 56, Church street.
5th Dec., 1861. *Jackson, William, Bedford road, Rock Ferry, Birkenhead.
23rd Nov., 1848. Jacson, Charles R., Barton lodge, Preston.
15th April, 1858. *Jago, J. R.
P. 2nd May, 1861. *Jeffery, F. J., Lodge lane.
21st May, 1857. *Jeffery, James Reddecliff, 45, Church street, and 11, Lodge lane.
23rd Nov., 1854. *Jeffery, William Reddecliff, 45, Church street, and 15, Deane street.
23rd Nov., 1848. Johnson, John H., 7, Church street, and Southport.
23rd Sept., 1854. Jones, Edward, The Larches, Handsworth.
3rd Jan., 1861. *Jones, George, 36, Hanover street.
3rd Dec., 1863. *Jones, Rev. J. Herbert, M.A.
3rd May, 1849. *Jones, Morris Charles, 75, Shaw street.
2nd Dec., 1858. *Jones, Robert, 7, Batchelor street.
6th Dec., 1849. *Jones, Roger L., 1, Belvedere road, Prince's park.
15th Sept., 1854. Jones, Thomas, B.A, Chetham Library, Manchester.
11th Dec., 1856. Jones, W. Hope, Hooton, Chester.

K

5th Dec., 1861. Kendal, John, Fishergate, Preston.
P. 3rd May, 1849. Kendrick, James, M.D., Warrington, Vice-President.
11th Dec., 1856. Kershaw, James, M.P., Oaklands, Victoria park, Manchester.
4th Dec, 1862. *King, Lieut.-Col. Vincent Ashfield, 18, Tower chambers, and Point of Ayr, Oxton.
5th Nov., 1863. *King, John Thomson, Clayton square.

21st May, 1857. *Kitchen, Joseph, Exchange street East, and Oak house, West Derby.

L

6th March, 1862. *Laird, John, M.P., Hamilton square, Birkenhead.
14th March, 1852. *Lambert, David Howe.
LANCASHIRE, THE HIGH SHERIFF OF, VICE-PRESIDENT *ex officio*.
23rd Nov., 1848. Langton, William, Manchester.
21st Sept., 1854. *Lea, James, Surveyor, Egremont, Cheshire.
23rd Nov., 1848. Legh, G. Cornwall, M.P., High Legh, Knutsford.
1st Dec., 1859. *Legh, W. J.*, M.P., Lyme park, Disley, Stockport.
10th Dec., 1857. *Leigh Major Egerton*, The West hall, High Leigh, Knutsford.
4th March, 1858. Lindsay, Right Hon. the Lord, M.P., Haigh hall, Wigan.
23rd Nov., 1848. Lingard, Alexander Rowson, Hooton, Chester.
*LIVERPOOL, THE MAYOR OF, VICE-PRESIDENT, *ex officio*. (R. C. Gardner, Esq.)
6th Jan., 1853. *Longton, John, Peter's place, Rumford street, and Breck road.
P. 23rd Nov., 1848. *Lord, Capt. Wm.*, R.N., Southdown, Weymouth.

M

6th March, 1862. McCorquodale, Lieut.-Col. G., Newton-le-Willows.
14th Feb., 1861. McGill, Robert, Copperas hill, St. Helen's.
15th April, 1858. *McInnes, J., 26, Lightbody street.
P. 3rd March, 1853. *Macintyre, Peter, M.D., 56, Canning street.
27th Sept., 1854. *Macfie, Robert Andrew, 30, Moorfields, and Ashfield hall, Neston.
21st May, 1857. McNicholl, David Hudson, M.D., Southport.
23rd Nov., 1848. *M'QUIE, PETER ROBINSON, 9, Brunswick street, and Thornton lodge, Merton road, Bootle.
5th May, 1853. **Macrae, John Wrigley*, 22, Hackin's hey, and Seaforth house, Seaforth.
6th Dec., 1849. *M'Vicar, Duncan, Abercromby square, and 7, Exchange buildings.
3rd Jan., 1849. *Manchester, the Lord Bishop of*, F.R.S., F.G.S., Mauldeth hall, Manchester.
23rd Nov., 1848. Markland, James Heywood, D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A., Lansdowne crescent, Bath.
23rd Nov., 1848. *Marsden, George, Vernon priory, Edge hill.
1st Dec., 1859. Marsh, John, Rann lea, Rainhill.
P. 5th June, 1851. MARSH, JOHN FITCHETT, Fairfield house, Warrington.
6th March, 1862. *MATHISON, WM., 1, Adelaide terrace, Waterloo.
15th April, 1858. Mawdesley, H., Southport.
P. 23rd Nov., 1848. *MAYER, JOSEPH, F.S.A., M.R. Asiat. S., F.E.S., F.R.S. North Ant. Copenhagen, Associé etranger de la Société Impériale des Antiquairies de France, Hon. Mem. SS. Anti., Normandie, l'Ouest, la Morinie, Société d'Emulation d'Abbeville, &c., 68, Lord street, VICE-PRESIDENT.

17th Feb., 1850. Mayer, Samuel, Newcastle-under-Lyne.
10th Feb., 1859. Meaden, Henry Peter, F.C.S , Haslingden.
P. 15th April, 1858. *Mercer, Nathan, F.C.S., 7, Church street.
3rd Dec., 1863. Mercer, William.
2nd Jan., 1862. Milligan, James, jun., Longview, Huyton.
21st Feb., 1861. Mills, John, Middle School, Warrington.
20th May, 1860. Mills, Robert, F.S.A., F.G.S., 27, Promenade, Rochdale.
P. 21st Dec., 1854. *Milner, William, 322, Upper Parliament street, and Phœnix Safe Works, Windsor.
P. 1st Dec., 1859. *Mitchell, T. R., M.D.
3rd Dec., 1857. Moore, Rev. Richard R., B.A., Bewsey street, Warrington.
P. 8th Nov., 1849. Moore, Rev. Thomas, A.M., Midleton College, County Cork.
15th April, 1858. *Moss, J. B., 34, West Derby street.
P. 23rd Nov., 1848. *Moss, Rev. John James, A.M., Upton, Cheshire.
P. 7th March, 1850. *Mott, Albert J., 21, South Castle street, and 51, Rodney street.
3rd Dec., 1863. Moubert, Adolphus, Garswood-Ashton, Warrington.
3rd Dec., 1857. Moult, William, 21, Leigh street, and Knowsley.
21st May, 1857. *Mozley, Charles, Beaconsfield, Woolton.
11th Dec., 1856. Myres, John James, Bank parade, Preston.

N

3rd Dec., 1863. Naylor, Benjamin Dennison, Altrincham, Manchester.
H.S. Ches., 1857. *Naylor, Richard*, Hooton hall, Chester.
23rd Nov., 1848. *Neill, Hugh, F.R.A.S., L.R.C.P.
15th April, 1858. *Newlands, J., Public Offices, Cornwallis street.
19th March, 1863. Newsham, Richard, Preston.
P. 6th Dec., 1855. *Newton, John, M.R.C.S., 13, West Derby street.
23rd Nov., 1848. Nicholson, James, F.S.A., Thelwall hall, Warrington.
6th March, 1862. *Norbury, Richard.
29th Sept., 1854. *Nottingham, John, M.D., F.R.A.S., F.R.S. Northern Antiquaries, Copenhagen, 20, Roscommon street.

O

P. 6th Dec., 1849. Ormerod, George, D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A., F.G.S., Sedbury park, Chepstow.
3rd Jan., 1850. *Overend, James, 55, Hope street.
3rd Dec., 1857. Oxley, Frederick, 31, John street, Bedford row, London, W.C.

P

23rd Nov., 1858. *Paris, Thomas Jeremiah, 68, Lord street.
3rd Jan., 1850. *Parker, Charles Stewart, Bank chambers, Cook street.
18th Dec., 1856. Parker, Robert Townley, Cuerdon hall, Preston.
7th March, 1850. *Patten, John Wilson*, M.P., Bank hall, Warrington.

2nd Nov., 1854. Patterson, Andrew, Principal of the Deaf and Dumb Institution, Manchester.
9th Oct., 1854. *Peacock, John.
6th Dec., 1849. Pearce, George Massie, Hackin's hey, and Ormskirk.
11th Dec., 1856. *Pedder, Henry Newsham*, 9, Queen's gate, Prince Albert road, South Kensington, London, S.
23rd Nov., 1848. Pedder, Richard, Kirkham, Preston.
8th Dec., 1851. Perrin, Joseph, 63, Wellington road North, Stockport.
21st March, 1861. Petty, Thomas Shaw, Preston.
P. 6th Jan., 1849. *Picton, James Allanson, F.S.A., Queen Insurance buildings, Dale street, and Sandyknowe, Wavertree.
3rd May, 1849. Pierpoint, Benjamin, St. Austin's, Warrington.
23rd Nov., 1848. Pilkington, James, M.P., Park place House, Blackburn.
10th Feb., 1853. *Platt, Robert*, Stalybridge.
12th March, 1857. *Preston, Geo. Theo. Robert, 13, Vernon street, Dale street, and Rock house, West Derby road.
6th Dec., 1849. *Preston, William, 13, Vernon street, and Rock house, West Derby road.
14th Jan., 1864. *Priest, Thomas E., Clarendon rooms, South John street.

R

23rd Sept., 1854. *Rathbone, William, 24, Water street, and Green bank, Wavertree.
15th March, 1849. Rawlinson, Robert, C.E., F.G.S., Sanitary Commissioner, Local Government Act Office, 8, Richmond terrace, Whitehall, and Lancaster lodge, Boltons, West Brompton, London, S.W.
13th Sept., 1854. *Raynes, James Trevelyan, 37, Oldhall street, and Rock park, Rock Ferry.
5th Dec., 1861. *Read, Joseph, Linden house, Laurel road, Fairfield.
23rd Nov., 1848. *Reay, James, Guardian Office, Commerce court, Lord street.
23rd Nov., 1848. *Reay, Thomas, 213, Upper Parliament street.
29th Dec., 1854. Rees, William, Old Trafford, Manchester.
3rd Dec., 1863. Rhodocanakis, H. H. the Prince, Manchester.
3rd May, 1864. *Richardson, James, jun., 4, Cook street.
14th Dec., 1848. *Robin, John.
20th Dec., 1855. Robin, Rev. P. R., A.M., Woodchurch, Birkenhead.
23rd Nov., 1848. *Robinson, Charles Backhouse, 12, Myrtle street, and Matilda grove, Aigburth.
3rd Jan., 1850. *Ronald, Robert Wilson, 19, Dale street.
15th April, 1858. Rooke, Rev. W. J. E., Tunstal Vicarage, Kirby Lonsdale.
11th Feb., 1864. *Rowe, Charles, Elm house, Anfield.
15th April, 1858. Rowlinson, W., Windermere.
25th Sept., 1854. Rylands, Peter, Bewsey house, Warrington.
P. 13th Dec., 1854. Rylands, Thomas Glazebrook, F.L.S., F.G.S., Warrington.

S

3rd Jan., 1861. Samuelson, Edward, Roby.
6th Dec., 1855. *Sandbach, W. R., Bank buildings, Cook street, and the Cottage, Aigburth.
P. 7th Sept., 1851. *Sansom, Thomas, F.B.S.E., 18, Breckfield road South, Everton.
19th March, 1863. Satterthwaite, Edward, Lancaster.
H.S. Lan., 1862. Saunders, W. A. F., Wennington hall, Lancaster.
23rd Nov., 1848. *Schofield, Henry D., M.D., 14, Hamilton square, Birkenhead.
3rd Dec., 1863. Scott, George, 53, Burlington street, Greenheys, Manchester.
8th Jan., 1852. Sharp, John, The Hermitage, Lancaster.
2nd June, 1853. *Sharp, William*, 102, Piccadilly, London.
14th Jan., 1864. *Sharp, William, 17, Brunswick street, and Alton villa, Oxton, Birkenhead.
23rd Nov., 1848. Sharpe, Edmund, A.M., Cwm Alyn, Llanrwst, North Wales.
1st Dec., 1855. *Shawe, J. R., Arrowe hall, Birkenhead.
7th Feb., 1850. *Sherlock, Cornelius, 22, King street.
11th Feb., 1858. *Shute, Arthur.
23rd Nov., 1848. *Simpson, Rev. Samuel*, A.M., St. Thomas's Parsonage, Douglas, Isle of Man.
23rd Nov., 1848. Skaife, Thomas, 32, Sussex place, Regent's park, London.
P. 16th April, 1863. *Smith, Henry Ecroyd, Aldboro' house, Egremont, Birkenhead, Hon. Curator.
2nd May, 1850. **Smith, James*, Seaforth.
16th Sept., 1864. Smith, John, Langley, near Macclesfield.
6th Jan., 1853. *Smith, William Penn, 26, Hanover street.
23rd Nov., 1848. *Snowball, J. G., 10, Castle street, and 11, Upper Canning street.
4th Dec., 1862. Somerville, Thomas, LL.D., Hawthorn hall, Wilmslow, Manchester.
12th March, 1863. *Squarey, Andrew Tucker, Apsley villas, Lower Bebington.
2nd Nov., 1854. Stainer, William, Old Trafford, Manchester.
3rd Jan., 1856. *Staniforth, Rev. Thomas*, Storrs, Windermere.
6th March, 1862. *Stanley, the Lord*, M.P., Knowsley hall, Lancashire, and 23, Saint James's square, London, S.W.
5th Feb., 1863. Steele, Alexander, Ph.Dr., Bay View house, The Crescent, Douglas, Isle of Man.
13th Dec., 1855. *Steiner, F.*, Hyndburn, Accrington.
30th Dec., 1854. *Stewart, James Gordon, Woodlands, Clifton park, Birkenhead.
5th June, 1850. *Stock, John.
6th Nov., 1862. *Stone, George, 57, Ranelagh street, and 51, Prospect vale, Fairfield.
P. 6th March, 1862. *Stonehouse, James, 149, Phythian street.
4th March, 1852. *Sykes, James, Colonial buildings, 34, Dale street, 78, Rodney street, and Breckhouse, Poulton-le-fylde.

T

18th Feb., 1858. *Thompson, Henry, 153, Upper Parliament street, and 11, North John street.
P. 8th Dec., 1851. Thornber, Rev. William, B.A., Blackpool.
13th Sept., 1854. *Thornely, Samuel, 31, Edge lane.
8th Dec., 1851. *Tinne, John A., F.R.G.S., Briarley, Aigburth.
Mayor Liv., 1854-55. *Tobin, James Aspinall, Walmer buildings, Water street, and Eastham.
14th Dec., 1848. Tobin, Sir Thomas, F.S.A., Ballincollig, Cork.
8th Jan., 1852. *Torr, John, 15, Exchange buildings, and Eastham.
H.S. Lanc. 1857. Towneley, Charles, Towneley, Burnley.
P. 2nd April, 1857. *Towson, John Thomas, F.R.G.S., 47, Upper Parliament street, and Sailors' Home.
14th April, 1863. *Turner, Charles, M.P., 4, Lancelot's hey, and Dingle head.
27th Sept., 1854. *Turner, John Hayward, 23, Abercromby square.
6th Dec., 1849. Turner, Edward, High street, Newcastle, Staffordshire.
16th Dec., 1858. *Tuton, E. S., 48, Lime street.

U

8th March, 1854. *Underwood, Rev. Charles W., A.M., Vice-Principal Collegiate Institution.

V

23rd Nov., 1848. **Varty, Thomas*, Lark hall, Penrith.
14th April, 1853. *Vose, James, M.D., 5, Gambier terrace, Hope street.

W

Myr.C. 1838-39, 48-49. *Walker, Sir Edward Samuel*, Berry hill, Mansfield, Notts.
11th Dec., 1856. Walmsley, Thomas, Preston.
6th March, 1851. Warburton, Rowland Eyles Egerton, Arley hall, Cheshire.
21st May, 1857. Ward, John Angus, Hooton Lodge, Chester.
3rd May, 1864. *Waterhouse, John Dockray, 1, Oldhall street.
P. 5th Dec., 1861. *Waterhouse, Nicholas, Rake Lane.
5th Feb., 1857. *Watt, Richard*, Speke hall.
17th Dec., 1857. Watts, Sir James, Manchester.
2nd May, 1850. *Way, Albert*, A.M., F.S.A., Wonham manor, Reigate, Surrey.
1st Feb., 1849. *Webster, George, 6, York buildings, Dale street, and Mosley hill, Aigburth.
P. 3rd Jan., 1856. *Welton, Thomas A.*, F.S.S., 11, Almorah road, Downham road, London, N.
6th March, 1862. Wensleydale, Rt. Hon. the Lord, Ampthill park, Ampthill.
2nd June, 1853. *Whitley, George, 5, Clayton square, and Bromborough.
9th Oct., 1854. Whitley, Rev. John, A.M., Newton rectory, Warrington.

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| | 6th June, 1850. | Whitley, Rev. William, B.A., Catsclough, Winsford, Cheshire. |
| P. | 30th Nov., 1854. | Wilkinson, Thomas Turner, F.R.A.S., Corr. Mem. Lit. and Phil. Soc. Manch., Burnley. |
| | 8th Jan., 1852. | *Willoughby, Edw. G., Marine Cottage, Tranmere. |
| P. | 1st Jan., 1863. | *Williams, Bell. |
| | 6th Dec., 1855. | Wilson, G. |
| | 14th Feb., 1861. | Wilson, J. M., Hardshaw street, St. Helen's. |
| | 23rd Nov., 1848. | Wood, Venerable Isaac, A.M., Archdeacon of Chester, Newton, near Middlewich. |
| | 23rd Nov., 1848. | Wood, Isaac Moreton, A.M., Newton, near Middlewich. |
| | 7th May, 1851. | **Woodhouse, John George*, 117, Henry street. |
| | 30th Dec., 1854. | Worthy, George Smith, Bristol. |

## HONORARY MEMBERS.

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| | 6th Feb., 1851. | Akerman, John Yonge, Hon. M.R.S.L.; F.S.A. Newcastle; F.R.S. of Northern Antiquities; Corr. Mem. SS. Antiq. Scot., France, Russia, Switzerland, Rome; Hon. Mem. Roy. Acad., Stockholm; Somerset House, London. |
| | 27th Sept., 1854. | Babington, Charles Cardale, A.M., F.R.S., F.S.A., F.L.S., Professor of Botany, Cambridge. |
| | 6th Feb., 1851. | Blaauw, William Henry, A.M., F.S.A., Beechland, Uckfield. |
| | 6th Feb., 1851. | Boileau, Sir John P., Bart., F.R.S., F.S.A., Ketteringham hall, Wyndham, Norfolk, and 20, Upper Brook street, Grosvenor square, London. |
| | 27th Sept., 1854. | Brewster, Sir David, K.H., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.SS.L., and E., Hon. M.R.I.A., one of the Eight Foreign Associates of the Academy of Sciences in the Imperial Institute of France, and Hon. or Corr. Member of the Academies of Berlin, St. Petersburg, Vienna, Munich, Göttingen, Turin and Modena, and Principal of the University of Edinburgh; College, Edinburgh and Allerly, Roxburghshire. |
| | 1st Nov., 1860. | Brown, James, New York, U.S.A. |
| | 6th Feb., 1851. | Charlton, Edward, M.D., F.S.A., Newc., 7, Eldon square, Newcastle-upon-Tyne. |
| P. | 1st Feb., 1855. | Clarke, Joseph, F.S.A., Saffron Walden, Essex. |
| | 19th May, 1859. | Cochet, M. L'Abbe, Inspector of Antiquities and Monuments in Normandy, Dieppe. |
| | 27th Sept., 1854. | Gray, John Edward, Ph.D., F.R.S., F.L.S., V.B.Z.S., Pres. Entom. Soc., &c., British Museum, London. |
| P. | 27th Sept., 1854. | Latham, R. Gordon, M.D, F.R.S., Greenford, Middlesex. |
| | 9th Dec., 1852. | MacAdam, Robert, 18, College square East, Belfast. |

27th Sept., 1854. Murchison, Sir Roderick Impey, G.C.St.S., A.M., D.C.L., F.R.S., V.P.L.S., F.G.S., V.P.R. Georgr. S., Hon. M.R.I.A., Director-General of the Geological Survey of Great Britain and Ireland; Trust. Brit. Mus.; Hon. Mem. Acadd. St. Petersburgh, Berlin, Copenhagen; Corr. Mem. Inst. France, &c., 16, Belgrave square, London.

27th Sept., 1854. Owen, Richard, M.D., LL.D., F.R.S., F.L.S., F.G.S., British Museum, London.

P. 7th May, 1851. Pidgeon, Henry Clarke, 10, St. Leonard's terrace, Maida hill, West, London.

27th Sept., 1854. Phillips, John, M.A., LL.D., F.R.S., F.G.S., Professor of Geology, and Keeper of the University Museum, Oxford; Hon. Mem. Imp. Acad., Moscow; Société Vaudoise, &c., Oxford,

27th Sept., 1854. Rosse, the Earl of, K.P., D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A., F.R.A.S., F.G.S., Birr Castle, Parsonstown, Ireland.

27th Sept., 1854. Sabine, Major General Edward, R.A., D.C.L., LL.D., Pres. R.S., F.R.A.S., 13, Ashley place, London, S.W., and Woolwich.

27th Sept., 1854. Sedgwick, Rev. Adam, A.M., F.R.S., F.G.S., F.R.A.S., Hon. M.R.I.A., Woodwardian Professor, Trinity College, Cambridge.

P. 6th Feb., 1851. Smith, Charles Roach, F.S.A., Member of the Roy. Soc. North Antiq. Copenhagen, Hon. Mem. SS. Antiq., France, Normandy, Scotland, Spain, Newcastle, the Morinie, Abbeville, Picardy, Wiesbaden, Luxemburg, Treves, Touraine, &c., Temple place, Strood, Kent.

27th Sept., 1854. Whewell, Rev. William, D.D., F.R.S., F.G.S., F.R.A.S., Hon. M.R.I.A., Corr. Mem. of the Institute of France, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge.

6th Feb., 1851. Willis, Rev. Robert, A.M., F.R.S., Jacksonian Professor, Cambridge, and 23, York terrace, Regent's park, London.

P. 27th Sept., 1854. Wright, Thomas, A.M., F.S.A., Hon. M.R.S.L., Member of the Institute of France; of theRoy. Soc. North Antiqs. Copenhagen; Hon. Mem. of the Soc. of Antiquaries of France; Corresp. Mem. Soc. Antiq. Normandy; of Soc. Antiqs. Scotland, &c., 14, Sydney street, Brompton. London.

# TRANSACTIONS.

## ON THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE CATHEDRALS AND ABBEYS OF ENGLAND.

*By Nicholas Waterhouse, Esq.*

(Read 5th November, 1863.)

It is my intention to give, in the following paper, a short account of the Cathedrals and greater Monasteries of England, and afterwards to describe the comprehensive scheme which was drawn up, in the time of Henry VIII, for the restoration of those institutions to a state of efficiency suited to the progressive spirit of the age and to the tenets of the Reformed Church. I am, fortunately, able to give a local interest to the latter part of the subject—the charter of the mother Church of this diocese having been published in the "Blue Book" of 1854, as an example of the position and duties assigned to the Cathedrals which were then founded.

"The original purpose of a Cathedral Church," according to the Report of the Cathedral Commission of 1854 (from which I shall largely quote), "was of a missionary character—the "Bishop living together with his associated Clergy; main- "taining the constant worship of Almighty God; educating "the young in the faith of Christ; and sending forth preachers "of the gospel into all parts of the diocese." Monasteries, on the other hand, were designed as places of retirement, "wherein persons might be brought up in a way of devotion "and learning, to fit them for further service when they "should be taken out."

The four Welsh Bishoprics are derived from the ancient

British Church and, indeed, are the only representatives of that Church, which laid claim to many Bishops and a large body of adherents in other parts of the island. Its Clergy were distinguished by their simple mode of life. The sketch of the austere habits of the monks of Val Rosine, in Pembrokeshire, as drawn in the pages of Fuller, will give some idea of the character of this branch of the early Church. "They were raised with the crowing of the cock from their "beds and then betook themselves to their prayers and spent "the rest of the day in their several callings. When their task "was done, they again bestowed themselves in prayers, "meditations, reading and writing; and at night, when the "heavens were full of stars, they first began to feed, having "their temperate repast to satisfy hunger, on bread, water and "herbs. Then the third time they went to their prayers and "so to bed, till the circulation of their daily employment "returned in the morning."*

As the conquering Saxon became converted to the Christian faith, his church absorbed that of the weaker and subject people, nor does there at the present day remain any distinctive memorial of the earliest Church in Britain.

With the Saxons the change was very rapid. Immediately after they renounced heathenism they were distinguished for their devotion to the new faith and their love of religious rites. Kings and princes expended their wealth in building and endowing monasteries, till England was said to contain more monks than military men. The greatest of the Cathedrals—Canterbury, Durham, Winchester and Ely—the richest of the mitred abbeys—Westminster, St. Albans, Glastonbury and St. Edmundsbury—all derived their broad lands and their political importance from Saxon times. The more we examine the history of this period the more we shall perceive the great importance of the Church and the great numbers

* Fuller's Church History, vol. ii, p. 142.

of both sexes devoted to the celebration of her services. The officers of the Church are thus described in Elfric's Pastoral Charge, A.D. 995 :—" 1st, the ostiary keeps the doors, rings " the bells, admits believers ; 2nd, the lector reads in God's " Church and publishes God's word ; 3rd, the exorcist adjures " malignant spirits with invocations ; 4th, the acolyth holds " the candle at Divine ministrations when the gospel is read, " to signify bliss by that light, to the honour of Christ, who " is our light ; 5th, the sub-deacon brings forth the vessels " to the deacon and humbly ministers under the deacon, with " the housel vessels, at the holy altar ; 6th, the deacon mi- " nisters to the mass-priest and places the oblation on the " altar and reads the Gospel at the divine ministration : he " may baptize children and housel the people. The deacons " ought to serve their Saviour in white albs and preserve the " heavenly life with purity and let all be done as becometh " that order. 7th, the presbyter is the mass-priest or elder— " not that he is old otherwise than in wisdom ; he halloweth " God's housel, as our Saviour commanded ; he ought by " preaching to instruct the people in their belief, and to give " an example to Christians by the purity of his manners. " There is no more between a bishop and a priest, but that " the bishop is appointed to ordain and to bishop children " and to hallow Churches and to take care of God's rights, for " they would be abundantly too many if every priest did this : " he hath the same order, but the other is more honourable."*

The sloth and love of ease which almost invariably have attended the monastic life soon made their appearance in the Saxon monasteries. The monks of Lindisfarne had been forbidden by their founder to drink anything but water and milk : they obtained permission to drink more generous liquors—ale and wine. Monks are admonished by the Synod, A.D. 747, against wearing fashionable garterings on

* Hook's Lives of the Archbishops, vol. i, p. 447.

the leg, or laymen's cloaks. Writing to the monks of Wearmouth, Alcuin exhorts that "the youth be accustomed to "attend the praises of our Heavenly King; not to dig up the "burrows of foxes, or to pursue the winding mazes of hares." "In some monasteries the abbot might be seen in the same "attire as other men of his own station in society, with his "mantle of blue cloth, faced with crimson silk and ornamented "with stripes or vermicular figures. We find them addicted "to war, to hunting, to hawking, to games of chance, to the "company of minstrels and jesters. In some of the nunneries, "also, the lady abbess would appear in a scarlet tunic, with "full skirts and wide sleeves and hood, over an under vest of "fine linen, of a violet colour. Alcuin complains of secret "junketings and furtive compotations; while the nuns were "forbidden to write or send amatory verses, and abbesses "were warned that there should not be any dark corners in "their houses, as advantage of them was taken for mischief."*

Amongst the good deeds of the early monks, it must not be forgotten that Dunstan required King Edgar to transmit to the different provinces of his kingdom copies of the Holy Scriptures, to be placed in the Churches for the instruction of the people.

The early Saxon Cathedrals were buildings of the simplest character; the walls were often merely formed of the trunks of oak trees, and the roof of a covering of reeds. If the reeds were removed and the roof covered with sheets of lead, the Church was regarded as magnificent. It is recorded of Wilfred Archbishop of York, A.D. 678, as a cause for the highest commendation, that he covered the thatched roof of his Cathedral with lead and filled the windows, hitherto open to the weather, with such glass as permitted the sun to shine within.†

It is no wonder, as the buildings were so very slight, that the Episcopal see was not unfrequently transferred from one

* Hook's Lives of the Archbishops, vol. i, p. 33. † Ibid, p. 157.

town to another—so much so that fifty-two places have been enumerated in England and Wales which have at some time or other been the see of a bishop. It requires a very good knowledge of ancient topography to trace the site of some of these cities. The greater part of one has been washed away by the ocean; and it is possible that the fisherman may now cast his nets where East Anglian priests once chanted the services of their Church; over others the shepherd and the ploughman unconsciously pursue their calling. In East Anglia were once the sees of Dunmoc (Dunwick) and Elmham; in Wiltshire and Dorset of Sherburn, Wilton and Ramsbury; of Leicester, in the county of that name; in Oxfordshire of Dorchester; in Lincolnshire of Sidnacester; in Sussex of Silsey; in Devon of Crediton; and in Cornwall of Bodmin. The most curious history of Episcopal migration is to be found in the most northern diocese of England. Aidan, a Christian missionary from Iona, selected Lindisfarne for his see. Finan, who succeeded him, built a Church of timber on that island and thatched it with reeds. He was succeeded by Cuthbert, who, dying in the odour of sanctity, was canonized. After a time the monks of Lindisfarne fled from their island home, on account of the incursions of the Danes, bearing with them the body of their sainted Bishop Cuthbert. For seven long years they wandered, seeking a place of safety; then for a time they settled at Chester-le-Street. Another invasion of the Danes drove them to Ripon and, lastly, they gained their permanent resting place at Dunholme, on the banks of the Wear.*

"Seven years St. Cuthbert's corpse they bore.
. . . . . .
Chester-le-Street and Ripon saw
His holy corpse, ere Wardilaw
Hailed him with joy and fear;
And, after many wanderings past,
He chose his lordly seat at last,
Where his Cathedral, huge and vast,
Looks down upon the Wear."

* Winkle's Cathedrals, vol. III, p. 68.

The manner in which the Northmen vexed and harried England left its impress on the Saxon Church. To pass a life time in a round of quiet duties was preferred by many to engaging in the turmoils of the camp. The sanctity of hallowed ground was sometimes respected even by semi-barbarous foes. Kings and queens had been the nursing fathers and nursing mothers of the Christian faith: they fled to its precincts for shelter in the hour of danger. Ealdormen and thanes had given so freely of their possessions to support its services, that the strength of the country was consumed in the maintenance of religion rather than in the protection of the bulwarks of the land. This imparted a feebleness to the Church, which was converted into a refuge for the craven and faint-hearted from their barbarous foes. The Norman conquest, which made the life-blood of the whole nation beat more vigorously, added vastly to the importance of the Church. The fear of foreign invasion was removed, the dimness and lethargy of Saxondom was replaced by the energy and mental vigour of the Norman race; England no longer sat solitary—a remote and unknown island; her relations with the other countries of Europe were increased; diplomacy may be said to have been introduced. It is true the Church was brought more fully under the subjection of the Roman Pontiff, but the loss of liberty was in a great measure repaid by increased intercourse with cities and universities where learning had long flourished. The laws became more complicated; the great bulk of the nobles were simply men of war, illiterate, destitute of tact or legal knowledge. The administration of the law, therefore, very generally fell to those who had been educated in the schools of the Abbeys and who had assumed the tonsure of a monastic order. Before the Reformation, half the Keepers of the Great Seal were Bishops: amongst the number were Thomas à Becket, William of Wykeham, Cardinal Beaufort, Waynflete and Cardinal Wolsey — the most distinguished statesmen of their times.

The Normans were great builders; and they gave permanence to their religious institutions by the erection of splendid Churches and Abbeys. The migratory character of the Episcopal sees very soon ceased; after the conquest the changes were few and unimportant.

Perhaps I cannot give a better idea of the early Norman Church than by briefly relating the acts and character of Sampson, Abbot of St. Edmundsbury, an able prelate of the latter part of the twelfth century, as I find it portrayed in the quaint and loving words of one who had been his pupil and who took pride in the growing importance of his house. Abbot Sampson was appointed to the rule of the Abbey of St. Edmund's after a long period of neglect and misrule. He at once proceeded to grapple with the debts and disorders of the monastery, to build barns and suitable offices and to survey his manors and the amount of their rent-roll. He obtained from the Pope the right to give Episcopal benediction, also exemption from visitations by the Archbishops of Canterbury. He granted an endowment to a grammar school. He brought home valuable robes and ornaments for the Church, including a copy of the Gospels, which had cost the enormous sum of fourscore marks. He maintained his feudal rights over the fifty-two knights who held the lands of St. Edmund, and he seized the cattle of one who refused to perform his military service. At the siege of Windsor he appeared in armour with his knights and the standard of St. Edmund. By force of arms he broke up the market of Lakenheath, which had been established by the monks of Ely, sending his bailiffs and six hundred armed men for the purpose. He maintained the right of the Abbey to levy toll on those frequenting the fair of St. Edmund. He forbade meetings and wrestlings and shows in the churchyard. He showed hospitality towards travellers and distinguished guests; and at Christmas it was his custom to entertain some of the

burgesses at his own table. He maintained parks, replenished with beasts of chase—keeping a huntsman and dogs; and he made the king a present both of dogs and horses. He quelled a mutiny among the monks—binding the most refractory hand and foot and putting the others on bread and water. He rebuilt part of the Church in a substantial manner and he replaced the shrine of the saint with great magnificence.

His character is thus described by his pupil, Jocelyn of Brakelond :—"Abbot Sampson was a man remarkably tem-
"perate, never slothful, well able and willing to ride or walk,
"till old age gained upon him. On hearing the news of the
"cross being captive and the loss of Jerusalem, he began to
"use under garments of horse-hair and a horse-hair shirt and
"to abstain from flesh and flesh meats. . . . He abhorred
"liars, drunkards and talkative folks. He also much con-
"demned persons given to murmur at their meat or drink,
"particularly monks who were dissatisfied therewith, himself
"adhering to the uniform course he had practised when a
"monk. . . . An eloquent man was he, both in French
"and Latin, but intent more upon the substance and method
"of what was to be said than the style of the words. He
"could read English manuscript very critically, and was wont
"to preach to the people in English, as well as in the dialect
"of Norfolk, where he was born and bred. Wherefore he
"caused a pulpit to be set in the Church, for the use of the
"hearers and for the ornament of the Church. The Abbot
"also seemed to prefer an active life to one of contemplation
"and rather commanded good officials than good monks;
"and very seldom approved of any one on account of his
"literary acquirements, unless he also possessed sufficient
"knowledge of secular matters; and whenever he chanced to
"hear that any prelate had resigned his pastoral care and
"become an anchorite, he did not praise him for it. He never
"applauded men of too complying a disposition—saying,

"'He who endeavours to please all, ought to please none.'"*

This portrait gives one the idea that Churchmen in those days were generally much engrossed in secular matters. From the chronicle we learn that the Abbey exercised a very lordly rule over the inhabitants of the town. The sacrist had the control of the prison of the borough. The cellarer (bursar) demanded a penny for every cow sent to pasture on the common and impounded those for which no payment was made. He sent the men of the town to fish for eels; and his licence was required before they could dig for chalk or clay.

It may here be well to point out the difference between the Cathedral and the Abbey. The former was originally served by secular canons, with a bishop at their head, who were allowed to hold private property, and who before the conquest, and, indeed, for some time after, were generally married men; whilst the Abbey was in the hands of the monks of some regular order, who were bound by vows of celibacy and could only hold property for the good of the whole body. Looking back through the vista of several centuries, the difference seems but slight, but then it was looked upon as all important and was the cause of the bitterest rivalry, and of a long continued struggle on the part of the monks and their adherents to obtain possession of the Cathedrals and their ample revenues. At the time of the conquest there were sixteen Cathedrals in England, exclusive of the four in Wales. Of these sixteen, two Cathedrals, Winchester and Worcester, had been in the hands of Benedictine monks since the times of St. Dunstan. Shortly after the conquest monks were substituted for secular canons in Canterbury, Durham and Rochester. The same change was also made in Norwich. Two sees were founded in the twelfth century at Ely and Carlisle, which were both of them associated with monasteries. No further change was made till

* Chronicle of Jocelyn of Brakelond.

the Reformation, which found eight Cathedrals out of eighteen in the hands of monks. We thus see how completely the early history of our Cathedrals is interwoven with that of the monastic institutions of England.

Besides these twenty or twenty-two Cathedrals, there were a large number of mitred abbeys, hardly inferior in importance and wealth. Previous to the time of Edward III the number of abbots and priors summoned to Parliament was constantly varying. In the forty-ninth year of Henry III sixty-four abbots and thirty-six priors were summoned; one year, in the time of Edward I, seventy-five were summoned; a few years later, in the time of Edward II, only fifteen. At last Edward III limited the number to twenty-six, who all held of the king *in capite per baroniam*, having an entire barony, to which thirteen knights' fees at least did belong. One of these twenty-six, the Prior of St. John's in Jerusalem, took precedence as "the first and chief baron in England:" he was generally of noble extraction and an accomplished soldier.* There were several very large and wealthy Abbeys not included in the twenty-six: amongst others was the Abbey of St. Werbergh, now the Cathedral of this diocese. The heads of the mitred Abbeys gradually obtained exemption from Episcopal control. They possessed a large number of impropriate parishes, the services of which were ministered by their vicars; and they had the oversight of many minor cells and houses.

From these facts we may learn the very great political power assigned to those dedicated to the services of the Church. The power of the people and the trading classes was then unknown: the popular element in the body politic rested with the Church. Her offices and places of importance were elective, though sometimes controlled by the strong arm of might. The plebeian could place himself on an equality with the nobles solely by means of taking holy orders.

* Fuller's Church History, vol. II, p. 182.

Through the Abbey schools men could rise from the humblest to the highest positions in society. The monks of St. Albans could point to Nicholas Breakspear, when he was seated, a very proud prelate, on the Papal throne, and speak of the time when they admitted him a serving lad into their house.* "The language of the Church was directly op-"posed to that of the Castle; and it was openly proclaimed "that 'all Christian men are brothers, whether high or low, "'noble or ignoble, lord or slave. The wealthy is not better "'on that account than the needy. The slave might as boldly "'call God his Father as the king. We are all alike before "'God, unless any one excel another in good works.' How "elevating to the character, how consolatory to the heart, must "such language have been to those whom the feudal lord "regarded as less valuable than his war-horse and as little "better than his chattels! Although the time had not arrived "when the foot, in touching the English soil, became the foot "of a free man, yet provision was made in the monasteries for "the emancipation of slaves. No feudal lord could refuse free-"dom to his slave, if the slave was desirous of receiving even "the inferior orders of the Church, provided the sum required "for the purchase of his freedom was forthcoming; and from "the treasury of the Monastery the money might be drawn by "any one who proved himself worthy of freedom and was "willing to submit to the restraints of religion and morality."†

It is impossible to look at the history of the Monasteries of England without chiefly regarding them in the light of social and moral institutions. Still, if we only looked at them in that point of view, we should be wrong; many of them were the scenes of much religious life. Can any one who has visited the Convent of St. Bernard, or those at Mount Sinai or Mount Carmel, doubt that their inmates are actuated by the highest motives in the work they have

* Hook's Lives of the Archbishops, vol. ii, p. 21. † Ibid, p. 19.

undertaken, and that they are sustained amid the dangers and seclusion of their daily life by the richest consolations of our Christian faith? If we make this admission, how can we help having the same belief of those who, during the long years of ignorance and war and rapine of the Middle Ages, maintained the light (dim and flickering it may have been) of our revealed religion, and who, by so doing, have conferred a ceaseless obligation on every sect within the British Isles.

We are indebted to a monk of Cluny for one of the most beautiful hymns we possess :—

"Urbs Syon aurea, Patria lactea, sive decora;"

which has been so admirably rendered by Dr. Neale—

"Jerusalem, the golden!
With milk and honey blest,
Beneath thy contemplation
Sink heart and voice oppress;
I know not, oh! I know not
What social joys are there;
What radiancy of glory,
What light beyond compare!"

It is related of Archbishop Anselm, when Abbot of Bec, that the Monastery was often in want of provisions for the following day; and the poor officials of the house (*cellerarii, camerarii et secretarii*), when they came to him enquiring what was to be done, were received with these words (which might have been uttered at the present day by Mr. Müller, the founder of the Orphan Houses near Bristol)—"Trust in "the Lord: He will make provision for us."*

Again, in the Crusades we have a marvellous proof of the religious zeal of the Middle Ages. Hosts of mailed warriors and men-at-arms pouring forth to rescue the holy shrines; and amongst those armed multitudes were many who, like their great leaders, Godfrey de Bouillon and the sainted Louis IX, desired not earthly greed or glory so much as to fight manfully under Christ's banner in heathen lands.

* Hook's Lives of the Archbishops, vol. ii, p, 179.

And we have another proof, in the wonderful eagerness for building and endowing Churches and religious houses. The motives which led to the foundation of these monastic piles were various—if not always good, certainly not always bad. Did any noble feel remorse for the deeds of a vicious and unjust life—the endowment of an Abbey was considered a full atonement for all his misdeeds. Did any husband or wife, sorrowing for the loss of those dearest to them, wish to withdraw from the turmoil of worldly cares—the Abbey was ready to open its gates for them and the contents of their coffers. One beauteous pile owes its origin to the untimely death of an only son. Did any one seek to diminish the ignorance and savagery of the district around him—the erection of a monastic house was the means he employed. The names of the builders of many of our Cathedrals and principal Churches are lost or forgotten. They do not seem to have cared whether they were remembered or not; and there is much truth in the words of the illustrious President of this Society, Mr. W. E. Gladstone, that "it has "been observed, as a circumstance full of meaning, that no "man knows the names of the architects of our Cathedrals. "They left no record of themselves upon the fabrics, as if "they would have nothing there that could suggest any other "idea than the glory of that God to whom the edifices were "devoted for perpetual and solemn worship; nothing to "mingle a meaner association with the profound sense of His "presence; or as if in the joy of having built Him a house, "there was no want left unfulfilled, no room for the question "whether it is good for a man to live in posthumous renown."*

But the great power and wealth acquired by the Abbeys were the cause of their decay and ultimate downfall. "Jeshurun waxed fat and kicked." They speedily forgot the objects for which they were established, the vows

* Quotation in *Quarterly Review*, No. clxix, p. 127.

by which they were bound. "Giraldus Cambrensis tells us "that on his return from abroad he dined with the monks of "Canterbury (this was in the twelfth century). Having "eaten of their bread, he lifts up his heel against them and "maliciously exposes their bill of fare. It is a curious picture "of the times;—sixteen lordly dishes and upwards, besides a "course of herbs—which latter, however, were not in much "request; fish of divers kinds, roast and boiled, stewed and "fried; omelets, seasoned meats and sundry provocatives of "the palate, prepared by cunning cooks; wines in ample "profusion, sicera, piment, claret, must, mede and moretum "(mulberry), anything and everything but ale, the boast of "England and more especially of Kent. 'What would Paul "'the Hermit have said to all this?' thinks the splenetic "Giraldus to himself; 'or St. Anthony? or St. Benedict, "'the founder of the order?'"*

As might be expected, the mitred Abbeys presently found rivals in the establishment of the mendicant friars, who were forbidden by their vows to hold any property, wandering from parish to parish, from town to town—having authority from the Pope to preach wherever they chose, whether the curate was willing or not. Their sermons were often diatribes against the secular clergy, against their ignorance and sloth; or contrasted their own poverty with the lordly establishments, the goodly estates and lavish expenditure of the monks. The friars, by their original rules, did not profess to own any property, but they might erect buildings, and many magnificent churches bear witness to their presence in this island. They cultivated learning with success. All the four orders of friars (Franciscans, or Friars Minor; Dominicans, or Black Friars; Carmelites, or White Friars; and Augustins, or Grey Friars) had flourishing houses at both Oxford and Cambridge. They filled the professors' chairs in the universities; searched

* Blunt's History of the Reformation, p. 34.

out manuscripts and multiplied the copies, collected libraries at any cost.* If they laboured for the instruction of those around them, they did not forget that a great part of mankind would rather be amused than taught any kind of serious learning; and therefore the friars sought to divert the multitude by means of mysteries or miracle plays. From these representations of scripture scenes or moral allegories we have derived our British drama. The same century which witnessed the performance of these now forgotten plays also witnessed those marvellous productions of the genius of Shakspeare which will live for ever. Both monks and friars possessed sources of gain in the shrines and miraculous relics or images in their Churches. Our Lady of Walsingham, the shrine of St. Edmund at St. Edmundsbury, the tomb of St. Thomas of Canterbury drew crowds of pilgrims from all parts of the country, who beguiled their journey with amusements of divers kinds. It is stated that whilst no man brought his gift to the altar of his Saviour in Canterbury Cathedral throughout a whole year, offerings were made at the shrine of St. Thomas à Becket in the same place and during the same period, to the amount of nearly a thousand pounds.†

There was one custom, connected with some of the Cathedrals and larger conventual Churches, which I shall mention as a specimen of the mummery in which that age delighted, and also as a proof of the very large numbers of young inmates of these houses—I mean the election of the boy or barn bishop. It was an ancient custom in Churches which had Cathedral service, for the little choristers on the day of St. Nicholas, the patron saint of children, to elect one of their number to be the boy or barn bishop. He presided over the rest till Innocents' day, when, with great pageantry, he laid down his office. The statutes attending the investiture of the *episcopus puerorum* are prescribed by the statute of the Church of Sarum.‡

* Blunt's Hist. of the Reformation, p. 36. † Ibid, p. 73.

‡ At York he was to be handsome and well shaped.

The other children of the choir took the style and office of prebendaries and yielded canonical obedience to their youthful superior. He and his fellows performed an appointed service in the choir, according to a well-established usage. Traces of this curious custom are to be found in the records of several of the Cathedrals and public schools, and from it the now extinct Eton Montem is said to have originated.*

I cannot conclude this short account of the monastic institutions of England without quoting the beautiful words of the late Professor Blunt on the benefits derived from them. "They had been the alms-houses, where the aged dependants "of more opulent families, the decrepid servant, the decayed "artificer retired as to a home, neither uncomfortable nor "humiliating; they had been the county infirmaries and "dispensaries—a knowledge of medicine and of the virtues "of herbs being a department of monkish learning (as "passages in the old dramatic writers sometimes indicate)— "and a hospital and perhaps a laboratory being component "parts of a monkish establishment; they had been foundling "asylums, relieving the state of many orphan and outcast "children and ministering to their necessities—God's ravens "in the wilderness (neither so black as they had been repre- "sented), bread and flesh in the morning, and bread and flesh "in the evening; they had been inns for the way-faring man, "who heard from afar the sound of the vesper-bell, at once "inviting him to repose and devotion, and who might sing his "matins with the morning star, and go on his way rejoicing; "they filled up the gap in which the public libraries have since "stood; and if their inmates were not very desirous to eat of "the tree of knowledge themselves, they had, at least, the "merit of cherishing and preserving it alive for others."†

* Rees's Encyclopædia: article "Boy Bishop." Hone's Every Day Book.

† Blunt's History of the Reformation, page 141.

But their doom was fixed; a few short years destroyed or entirely altered the work, in some cases, of eight long centuries. It is only three centuries since their fall. In spite of it, during that time England has prospered in temporal and spiritual blessings as she never did before. The great abstraction of Church property at the time of the Reformation has been the source of much lamentation. No doubt it was at the time a grievous and a bitter trial; but such lamentations are now out of place. "Let the dead past bury its dead!"

The Church has been left with endowments ample enough to ensure her permanence, but not large enough to restrain her from enlisting the cordial sympathy and aid of the laity for her further progress and development. The clergy have been confined to the sacred duties of their office; many secular duties, once assigned to them, have been transferred to other and to fitter hands. Perhaps there may be a difference of opinion whether the relief of the temporal necessities of the poor should be entirely committed to those engaged in spiritual work. But there can be no difference of opinion as to whether our foreign negociations, for instance, about Italy or Poland, should be entrusted to a layman or to a bishop or a dean; as to whether the Great Seal should be committed to the charge of a monk or of a trained lawyer like Eldon or Lyndhurst or Westbury; as to whether it is not an advantage both for Church and State that the Treasury and the Home Office are no longer prizes which may be sought by those set apart for the cure of souls. With the Tudor monarchs arose that race of great statesmen who, from Burleigh and Walsingham to Pitt and Peel and Palmerston, have done so much to make England what she is. There can be no donbt that the charge of the infirmary is best intrusted to those who have made the study of medicine the chief object of their lives: whilst the

maintenance of bridges and highways may surely be left to the lay inhabitants of the district.

At the time of the Reformation only nine English Cathedrals were in the hands of secular canons. They are termed Cathedrals of the old foundation—namely, York, St. Paul's, Chichester, Exeter, Hereford, Lichfield, Lincoln, Salisbury and Wells. The four Welsh Cathedrals, which were very poor and incomplete in their appointments, were on the same footing. There were eight Cathedrals which at different times had passed into the hands of various monastic bodies, namely —Canterbury, Durham, Winchester, Carlisle, Ely, Norwich, Rochester and Worcester. It was proposed to found about twenty new sees from the large property abstracted from the Abbeys. This scheme was partially accomplished by the creation of the bishoprics of Gloucester, Bristol, Peterborough, Chester, Oxford and Westminster—the last of which only existed nine years. It appears that the other sees which Henry VIII intended to found were to have been at Waltham for Essex, at Saint Albans for Herts, at Burton-on-Trent, at Shrewsbury, at Colchester, at Bodmin, at Lancaster, at Saint Jermyn and at Fountayne for the archdeaconry of Richmond in Yorkshire. This scheme had really been proposed eight hundred years before by the Venerable Bede, who earnestly exhorted Egbert to endeavour to increase the number of sees, by converting Monasteries into Cathedrals.*

The changes made at this period were generally most incomplete, a curious instance of which is shewn in the evidence given by the chapter of Lincoln in 1854. They state that their statutes were embodied previous to the year 1440 and, therefore, during the prevalence of the Roman Catholic religion in this kingdom. The duties detailed in the statutes relate to the forms and proceedings during Divine service in the Cathedral, in accordance with that form of worship.

* Cathedral Commission, 1854, Report, p. xxxix.

"The statutes have not been re-modelled at the time of or "since the Reformation and are not applicable to the per- "formance of Divine service according to the Reformed "Church of England."* The original constitution of some of the other Cathedrals of the old foundation is exceedingly obscure. Hereford, for instance, is said, almost till the present time, to have been governed by custom, by injunction and by statutes or charters of Queen Elizabeth and of King Charles I, but from these sources no very distinct information can be gathered as to the original constitution.†

I will now give the substance of the original charter of the Cathedral of Chester, which will show in what manner the fathers of the English Reformation intended to employ a large number of monastic institutions.

The Abbey of St. Werburgh, which had, according to Fuller, a rental of £1073 a year, making it one of the twenty wealthiest conventual houses in England, was converted, in 1541, into the Cathedral Church of Christ and the Blessed Virgin Mary in Chester. The objects of the foundation are these :— "That true religion and the genuine worship of God may be "therein wholly restored and reformed after the primitive or "pure standard of sincerity; and that from thenceforth the "truths of Holy Scripture may be taught and the Sacraments "of our saving religion rightly administered, good moral "discipline maintained, youth freely instructed in letters, the "old and infirm suitably provided for, and lastly, eleemosy- "nary largesses to the poor, the repairs of roads and bridges "and all other offices of piety may from thence be abundantly "diffused into all the adjacent region, to the glory of Almighty "God and the common advantage and happiness of our sub- "jects."‡ They are more briefly described in the preamble of the statutes :—"That the pure worship of God may be main-

* Cathedral Commission, App. p. 253. † Ibid Report, p. 19.

‡ Cathedral Commission Appendix, page 125.

"tained and the Holy Gospel assiduously and purely preached "and besides this, that to the advancement of the Christian "faith and piety, the youth of our realm may be trained up "in sound learning and the poor for ever maintained."

The duties of the various members of the Church were as follows:—The dean is required to take an oath that to the utmost of his power he will "well and faithfully rule and "govern this Church according to the statutes, and that he "will well and faithfully keep and preserve, and see that others "keep and preserve, all the goods, lands, tenements, revenues "and possessions, rights and liberties and privileges of the "same, and all other things, as well moveables as fixtures "and all the other profits of the same Church." "He is "invested with full authority over all canons and other "officers of the Church, to reprove, rebuke and exhort them "and, if need be, to punish them for neglect of duty. The "charter gives him power to correct, depose and expel all or "any of the inferior officers of the Church, but this power "seems to be modified by the statutes, which prescribe the "mode in which offenders are to be dealt with. He is to see "that the offices of Divine worship are reverently performed. "He is himself to officiate on all the great festivals. He is to "take care that sermons be preached upon the days appointed, "that the boys are competently instructed, the alms distri- "buted and, generally, that every member of the body "faithfully performs the duties assigned to him." He is "to maintain an honourable and sufficient style of living, "to be hospitable, liberal to the poor, and economical in "his personal expenditure. He and the receiver, once in "every year, are to visit and inspect all the manors and "estates of the Church. A register is to be made of the "state of all the manors and buildings. He is to preach "(*per se aut per alium*), on Easter Day, Good Friday and

" Christmas Day and generally to be diligent in labouring in " the Word of God, especially in the Cathedral Church."*

The canons are required to take an oath that they will defend the possessions and rights of the Church; " that they " will observe the statutes and maintain the observance of them; " that they will in no respect hinder, but rather promote and " advance the advantage and honour of the Church, as far " as it can lawfully be done; and that, if elected to any office " in the Church, they will be willing to undertake it and to " discharge the duties of it to the utmost of their power. " Their duty is to be instant in season and out of season in " preaching God's Word, both in the Cathedral and elsewhere, " and, in particular, to preach four English sermons at the " least in the said Church on Sundays (*per se aut per alios*)." (In some Cathedral statutes it is especially enjoined that they are to provide for the ministrations of religion in appropriated parishes: the members of the Cathedral are not to reap without sowing also.) The canons are " required to maintain separate " establishments, except under special circumstances; and so " to expend the income which they derive from the Church " as to be neither penurious nor extravagant." In certain cases the canons may establish a common table. " They " are to show all respect and obedience to the dean as their " head and chief, and to exercise hospitality."

The duty of hospitality is more strongly enforced in the statutes of the Cathedral of Durham, where it is stated, in reference to a certain residence of twenty-one days, that " they " must give notice to the chapter when those twenty-one days " begin; and for that whole time let them live more daintily " than they used to do at other times in the year, entertaining " the choir and inviting the citizens and strangers, as becomes " persons keeping hospitality." And the statutes further appropriate certain lands and tenements, " that the canons

* Cathedral Commission Appendix, pp. 126 and 127.

"resident, who as far as they are able keep up hospitality "(a thing by far the most grateful to God and man) may go "on prosperously in their affairs."*

The vice-dean is to take precedence next to the dean and, in all matters relating to the Church, to show superior diligence and circumspection. The receiver is to receive payments due to the Church, superintend outlying estates, and see that all dilapidations thereupon are duly repaired. The treasurer is to have the guardianship of the fabric of the Church, to keep it in good repair, as well as the official houses, except those of the dean and canons. "He is also to provide all the "requisite material for the furniture and fitting of the Church "and choir; to take care that a sufficient supply of timber "for building be kept in store; to see that the dean and "canons keep their houses in proper repair, and if they neg- "lect to do so to repair them at their expense." "He is also "to have charge of the sacristy, to see that all the sacred "implements, vestments and records are duly preserved."†

The greater officers of the Church are few in number in the Cathedrals of conventual origin, for the excellent reason that they were more or less completely re-modelled at the Reformation. At Chester the original constitution only appoints six canons, which was the common number, but there were eight at Ely, ten at Worcester and twelve at Westminster, Canterbury, Durham and Winchester, respectively. Very curiously, the Cathedrals of secular canons which, before the Reformation, had been strongly opposed by the monastic orders, after that period exhibited a greater resemblance than any other institutions in England to the monastic houses. The number of their prebendaries or canons, who in position were equal to the ordinary monks, was very considerable: in Exeter it was twenty-four, Chichester twenty-eight, Lichfield twenty-seven, St. Paul's thirty, York thirty-six, Wells forty-nine, Lincoln

* Cathedral Commission Appendix, p. 47. † Ibid, p. 127.

fifty-two, and Salisbury fifty-three. From these larger chapters the canons residentiary, the precentor, treasurer and chancellor were to be chosen. There were generally an equal number of minor canons, or vicars choral under the canons. One of the members of these Cathedrals of the Old Foundation is described as follows:—

"The office of Chancellor of the Cathedral is distinct from "that of Chancellor of the diocese. To him was committed "the department of theology and learning in general. It was "his duty to superintend the reading of the Scriptures in the "choir, and to see that they were well and distinctly read; to "preach, and to arrange the cycle of preachers both in the "Cathedral Church and elsewhere; to deliver theological "lectures; to nominate schoolmasters in the city and in "other places; to preserve the sacred books used in the "choir and the library of the Church;" (at Salisbury he was required to bind or mend the books of the library as well as of the Church, at his own expense;) "to keep the chapter "seal, in conjunction with the Treasurer; to write the letters "of the chapter and a record of all proceedings."*

There was no enactment in the Cathedrals of later foundation that the bishop should take part in the celebration of Divine worship; but the chapter was to form a council to their diocesan. In the statutes of Ely it is enacted that "not only Christ's Holy Gospel may be diligently and purely "preached by learned and grave men, who, after the example "of the primitive Church, may assist the bishop, as his "presbytery, in all weightier matters; but that also heresies "and false doctrines may be checked and expelled."†

The missionary character of the Cathedrals is exemplified at Canterbury by the six preachers, who were originally appointed that they might preach in the Cathedral, in the country villages in the neighbourhood and in the parishes where the chapter held property.

* Cathedral Commission First Report, p. vi. † Ibid. p. x.

I will now enumerate the inferior officers of Chester Cathedral of whom the most important were the minor canons. To them was entrusted the duty of singing the praises of God perpetually in His Church. On admission they swear "to "show due obedience and respect to the dean and canons "and have strict regard to the honour and profit of the "Cathedral Church." "The precentor, who is chosen from "among them, is to appoint the order of the music for Divine "Service and to lead the singers in the performance of it in "the choir." The duty of the lay clerks is the same with that of the minor canons. "They and all the other officers "of the Church are to wear livery gowns, the material for "which is to be provided annually by the dean and receiver, "at Christmas. The precentor is to report the absences "from Divine Service both of the dean and chapter and of "all inferior officers. He is to preside at the first table in "the hall, and to be the *morum censor* there, seeing that "silence, order and propriety of conduct be observed by all "present." The duty of the sacrist is to take charge of the interior of the Church, with all vestments, books, cups, records and other apparatus. He is also to provide the requisite supply of wine, wax and candles for the celebration of Divine Service. "He is also to visit the sick within the precincts of the "Church, and receive their confession, and to administer "the sacraments. He is to take charge of the oblations "made in the Cathedral and to hand them over for the use "of the Church."

"The eight choristers are to be boys of tender age and "with good musical voices, whose duty it is to attend upon, "serve and sing in the choir, at all times of Divine Service, "under the direction of the precentor. The master of the "choristers is to be a man of honest report and good life, "skilled in the art of singing and playing the organ; and "he is to devote himself to the instruction of the boys in "playing the organ and singing in Divine Service."

"The head master of the school is to be a Latin and Greek "scholar, of good character and pious life, and imbued with "the faculty of teaching. His duty is to instruct the twenty- "four boys, and all others who frequent the school for the "purpose of learning grammar, in religious knowledge and "sound learning. He is to report to the dean every slow "and stupid boy, who shows an indisposition to learn, that he "may be removed from the school." He, as well as the under master, is required to wear a livery gown. Either of them may be removed or deposed by the dean and chapter, if idle or negligent or incapable of teaching. "The twenty- "four grammar scholars are to be poor and friendless boys, "who have some capacity for learning, and who are able to "read and write, and are moderately acquainted with the "rudiments of grammar. They are to be maintained at the "cost of the Church until they have acquired a tolerable "knowledge of Latin grammar, and can speak and write in "that language. Every slow and dull boy is to be expelled "by the dean, that he may not, *like a drone, consume the* "*honey of the bees.* The boys are to wear gowns and to attend "Divine service on all festivals." The dean and chapter say nothing about exhibitions at the Universities; but the head master states that originally provision was made for the maintenance of four scholars at Oxford or Cambridge. This seems to have been the case at several of the other Cathedrals.

"The six beadsmen must be poor and indigent persons, or "who have been disabled and mutilated in battle, or such as "are enfeebled by age, or otherwise disabled and reduced to "poverty and wretchedness. Their duty is, so far as their "infirmities will permit, to be present every day at Divine "Service in the choir, to be attentive to the prayers, to keep "the Church clean, to ring the bells, &c. They are also to "wear livery gowns."

In addition there are several purely secular officials con-

nected with the Cathedral. The butler is to serve out meat and drink to those who mess at the common table, and to purchase provisions for the table of the minor canons and officers. The porters are to keep the keys of the gates, to keep guard upon the doors and outlets of the Cathedral precincts, and shut and open them as directed by the dean or vice-dean. They are not to allow any of them to be open at night, except by the express order of the dean or vice-dean.

"One of the porters is also to officiate as barber, and to "cut hair and shave, without charge, all the members and "officers of the church."

The form of the tonsure had always been an important point in ancient religious controversies. The British and the Romish sections of the early Church had quarrelled about it as fiercely as churchmen of the present day have done about matters equally unimportant. Canons have been enacted on the subject. At the synod held at Winchester, under Archbishop Richard, A.D. 1174, it was decreed, "that clerks, who "wear long hair, are to be clipped, whether they like it or not, "by the archdeacon." *

There were also a cook and an under cook to prepare all provisions for the common table. For the management of this common table in the hall one of the clergy was to be chosen as seneschal or steward for the year. This completes the staff of officers belonging to the Cathedral of Chester. In some other Cathedral Churches the lay officers were more numerous. Ely possessed a bridge-reeve, Norwich a keeper of the ferry, Peterborough a cupbearer, Worcester a caterer, and Canterbury a band of sacbutteers and cornetteers. Thus the leading spirits of the English Reformation designed that our Cathedrals should be institutions of a collegiate character, that the clergy belonging to them should permanently live within their precincts, should be engaged in the daily celebra-

* Hook's Lives of the Archbishops, vol. ii, p. 532.

tion of religious worship, that their preaching and learning should influence the rest of the diocese, and that a school for the training of the young should form an essential and prominent part of the establishment.

It is almost needless to state that this scheme was in no instance fully carried out. The common table was never instituted at Chester. Indeed in many cases, though the Crown gave up the abbeys to the purposes of religion, their broad lands were reserved to gratify some favourite of the hour, and the chapter had not the means of performing all the task entrusted to it. It is true the rent rolls of Durham, Westminster, Canterbury, Winchester and Windsor were large, but these were exceptions; they were much larger than those of any other Cathedral or Collegiate Church. The Welsh chapters and, indeed, some of the English were most meagrely endowed.

In a very able paper read at the Church Congress at Manchester, by Mr. Akroyd, a heavy charge was brought against the nineteenth century that it had not built any great Church or Minster which could compare with the works of the past. This is perfectly true, but it is only half the truth. Our forefathers were engaged in the erection of the Abbey-Churches for four or five centuries—for about fifteen generations; the present generation, which is said to have built from three to four thousand Churches at a cost of £11,000,000, has not forgotten our ancient Cathedrals, which it found in a most neglected condition; and if it has not thought fit to build any new Minster to its own praise and glory, it has at any rate, in a reverent spirit, striven to preserve those which by-gone ages have committed to its care. Very large sums have been expended on the restoration of our Cathedrals: in twenty-five years considerably more than £100,000 on York Minster, the glory of the northern province; more than £63,000 on Canterbury; and sums of from £30,000 to £50,000 on several others.*

* Chichester, Durham, Ely, Hereford &c.

Indeed, all of them have undergone some restoration. Besides the Cathedrals, very large sums have been expended on some of our fine old parish Churches, such as Doncaster, which has been rebuilt at a cost of £50,000; St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol; St. Mary Magdalen, at Taunton, which glories in the noblest tower in the west country; Wimborne Minster, Malvern Priory, Sherborne Abbey &c.* Thanks to the liberality of the present age and the genius of Gilbert Scott, our Cathedrals rise in greater stateliness and beauty than at any time since the Great Rebellion, or perhaps since the time of Henry VIII.

The course of time has wrought one curious effect on our Cathedrals; it has practically introduced a division of labour among them. The original idea was that each was to be in various ways the religious metropolis of a little district. At the close of three centuries the greatly increased facilities of communication have frustrated this scheme; the spirit of the age is abhorrent of isolated communities; and the result is, that most of these Cathedral bodies devote themselves particularly to one of the functions for which they were founded. The Cathedral of Oxford is simply a college, nothing more; that of Durham, largely connected with the University of that city; that of Ely, partly connected with the University of Cambridge, by means of its Regius Professorships; that of Westminster, with a public school. All the canonries of Manchester, and two of those of Westminster, will, for the future, be annexed to parochial cures. The schools attached to the Cathedrals have not as a rule fulfilled the intention of their founders, which was that they should be nurseries for the universities and the Church, and they have not generally kept pace with the better endowed schools around them. Several

* These restorations have sometimes been aided by more distant branches of the Anglo-Saxon race. The Cotton Chapel attached to Boston Church was restored at the expense of the greater Boston in the United States—Cotton, a leading pastor of the Pilgrim Fathers, being a native of the former town.

Cathedrals, as Chichester, Wells, Exeter and Lichfield, have theological colleges attached to them, but they are all very small; and public opinion is strongly opposed to small colleges. A few have some connection with neighbouring training colleges for schoolmasters. There cannot be a greater contrast than between the crowded congregations at St. Paul's, Westminster, Chester &c., and those in some of the smaller cities. The circumstances around the Cathedral of Lancashire on the busy banks of the Irwell, closely hemmed in by more than half a million souls, are entirely different from those around that pleasant hill rising amidst the fens of Cambridgeshire, where the grand old Cathedral of Ely, once a Benedictine monastery, forms no inconsiderable part of the town.

Our Cathedrals have always been most dissimilar; the rules which might be just to some would be most unjust to others; and, whilst public opinion allots the precincts in the quiet Cathedral close to those who are pursuing the study of sacred literature, it hopes that the canonries in our populous cities may render assistance to those who are striving with the many and varied difficulties of the present time. But it is very far from my intention to enter on the question of Cathedral reform, a question which can be best answered by a careful examination of the labours and designs of our forefathers.

If any one during the present century has laboured more than his fellows to give practical effect to one part of the original design of a Cathedral, and that the missionary part of the Cathedral, it was Daniel Wilson, the late able and zealous Bishop of Calcutta. During the five and twenty years he filled that important see, his constant aim was to build a Cathedral Church, and to attach to it a body of clergy whose works and whose influence should be felt through the whole diocese. This indeed was the day dream of his long episcopate.

It is impossible to foretell what changes may be in store for the Church at home, especially as to the number and position of the episcopal order, and what changes may in consequence be made in the Cathedral clergy. Whether changes take place or not, I cannot better conclude this paper than by joining in the prayer contained in the Charters of the Cathedrals founded by Henry VIII, which has already been used in a similar place by her Majesty's Commissioners for enquiring into the Cathedral Churches in England, that Capitular Foundations may "ever maintain the worship and "promote the glory of ALMIGHTY GOD; that Christ's Holy "Gospel may be diligently and purely preached, and the "sacraments of our saving religion rightly administered by "learned and grave men, who, after the example of the primi-"tive Church, may assist the bishop as his presbytery in all "weightier matters; that the youth of the realm may be trained "up in sound learning, the old and infirm suitably provided "for;" and that from each Cathedral Church, as the spiritual metropolis of the diocese, "all works of piety and charity "may be abundantly diffused to the glory of Almighty God, "and the common advantage and happiness of the subjects "of this realm."

# ON THE ENGLISH POOR LAWS, WITH SOME SUGGESTIONS FOR THEIR AMENDMENT.

*By William Rees Esq., District Auditor.*

[Read 18th February, 1864.]

In proposing to read a paper upon the "Poor Laws, with "suggestions for their amendment," I had certain definite objects in view which, I candidly state to you, I hoped by means of the Historic Society to press upon the attention of that larger body, society at large. They are objects intimately connected with social science, and therefore properly coming within the range of the Scientific Section of this Society. And I may say that I have a strong claim to be heard upon the subject of the Poor Laws, not as having taken them up as a favourite study, but because from my official position I have a considerable amount of practical knowledge of their operation.

It would be impossible, within the limits of a paper of reasonable length, to go deeply into the history of the Poor Laws of England; but, before stating the particular topics which I propose to discuss, I will just take a cursory glance at the origin and progress of our legislation on the subject and the prominent causes leading to the necessity for legislating.

The decline of feudalism rendered legislation of an effectual character *possible*, but, on the other hand, the decline and extinction of the feudal system contributed largely to the letting loose upon the country of wandering bands of retainers—men who had no honest means of earning their bread. There were at all events in that transition period such

bands preying upon the well-to-do classes. The generic name of Poor comprised this class, described in the days of Henry VIII and the reigns immediately succeeding, as "valiant and sturdy "beggars;" the class of old and infirm; and the class of sick and impotent; besides a mixed multitude of men and women who were destitute simply because they were *idle*. Early legislation contemplated no relief save through the house of correction for the first class, and for such of the last as refused the work provided for them by the overseers.

It may be asked how, in the ages preceding the period referred to, the poor had been relieved, seeing that poor there doubtless were always. No doubt the chief means was the dole of the monastic houses. The Reformation put a stop to this source. The means available formerly had passed for the most part into the hands of laymen, who recognised no obligation to bestow any of their goods to feed the poor. They gladly laid hold (as a most convenient theory), upon the text, "If any will not work, neither shall he eat," a text which too many in all ages find a comfortable one when their consciences demand an excuse for spurning the beggar from their gate. The necessity of providing means for meeting and correcting the evil, which every year forced itself with increased urgency upon public attention, produced contrivances of a varied description, which experience proved to be utterly inadequate. The first requirement was money. Steps were taken to draw from the wealthy in each parish voluntary contributions for the relief of the indigent. As the selfishness of the opulent neutralized this contrivance, compulsory poor rates were resorted to; and the officers termed Overseers of the poor, and for a time, Governors of the poor, were appointed to manage these matters. There were two objects to be gained, one being the relief of the really poor, the other the punishment of the wilfully idle and the forcing them to work. For the latter the most obvious means

suggested were public whipping and the house of correction. Various modifications of the law were effected year by year, until the last years of the reign of Elizabeth, when the system was organised upon which all subsequent legislation has been based.

There are four recognised elements in the subject matter of poor relief, viz. :—

1. Mendicancy.
2. Old age and infirmity.
3. Bastardy.
4. Lunacy.

By the first, probably more than by any other, a provision for poor relief was forced upon men's attention. At home the door was daily beset with wandering beggars. Abroad there was no stirring without falling in with noisy mendicants supplicating or demanding money. Nobody likes this annoyance. It affects now, and did in those days affect, more than reports of unseen sickness and starvation. It was, however, impossible effectually to mitigate this evil without having regard to the condition of the old, the sick, the infirm.

Again, with the progress of civilization and luxury came also disregard to moral conduct. There was from some cause an increase in the number of illegitimate children. For these, with their wretched mothers, it became necessary to provide.

As to the case of Lunatics, the crass ignorance which prevailed, and which only the enlightenment of a very recent period has served to dissipate, hindered any care being bestowed upon them. And we accordingly find that it was not until the year 1744, in an act known as the Vagrant Act, that provision was made for the taking custody, by public officers, of this class of persons. By the 20th section of that act the justices were empowered to " direct constables, churchwardens " and overseers of the poor to apprehend lunatic and insane

"persons, and cause them to be locked up in some secure "place, and, if the justices deem it necessary, to be there "chained." I imagine that few persons could be found in our day to regard such an enactment with any degree of favour.

I now come to another branch of my subject, namely, the persons to whom the legislature has, in its wisdom, consigned the duty of providing for vagrants, beggars, the sick, infirm and idle, mothers of illegitimate children, their offspring, and lunatics, together with sundry other duties, all of which taken together must suppose the possession, by the persons so charged, of administrative abilities of a very high order indeed.

Provision for the subsistence of the poor was at first (I mean in post Reformation days at least), committed to Churchwardens (see 27 Henry VIII, cap. 25). The whole community consisted or was supposed to consist of Christian people—members of the Christian Church. Churchwardens represent and are a vestige of the ancient order of deacons—that order upon which, by apostolic decree, devolved the care of the poor, but which for centuries existed as an office in name only.

To assist churchwardens substantial householders designated "Overseers of the poor" were appointed. To these were added, in certain large towns, "collectors and governors of "the poor" (see 18th Elizabeth, cap. 3). It appears, however, that between the Justices of the Peace and the Overseers and Governors of the poor, the poor were so badly cared for in the reign of Charles I, that a commission under the great seal was issued "for putting in execution the laws for the "relief of the poor." So that the poor-law commissioners, of whom we have heard so much in our days, are not the first body of the kind known in England. They issued orders and directions which evinced much wisdom; but their own existence was temporary, and the abuses which they endea-

voured to correct, and which *were* doubtless corrected partially and temporarily, soon revived and flourished.

Acts of parliament, one after another, were passed to remedy flagrant evils. A great effort was made in the reign of George III, in the statute known as "Gilbert's Act," which proposed to transfer from one set of men called overseers to another set called guardians, of the same class however, the charge of relieving the poor. It was intended by the appointment of a superior officer called a *visitor*, whose powers were of a somewhat despotic character, to restrain the new body of guardians from nefarious practices and dereliction of duty. The statute, however, failed; first, because the adoption of it was made optional with the parishes, and secondly, because it was wretchedly inadequate in its provisions to meet the requirements of a rapidly increasing population. It was adopted to a very small extent, and for the most part things remained as they were until the flagrant peculations, perversions and abuses, fully exposed by the Commission of 1832, led to the passing of the "Poor Law Amendment Act," in 1834.

No one who has not experience of, or had practical acquaintance with, the difficulty of getting an act of parliament to remedy acknowledged evils can conceive the obstacles which meet every step of the progress of effecting a cure by this means for social disorders. So great was the jealousy manifested of giving what was considered unconstitutional powers to bodies outside the House of Commons, that whilst the "Poor Law Amendment Act" was, in its main provisions, passed, the power of dealing with "Gilbert Unions," and bodies incorporated under local acts for the government of poor relief, was withheld. Hence we see that, whilst the poor-law commissioners gradually introduced the new order of things, in most parts of the country there still remain anomalies in the shape of peculiar local law and practice, often

either sheltering abuses, or hindering the introduction of improvement. The act itself was exceedingly well drawn, although experience has made various amendments requisite which subsequent legislation has either effected, or by bungling efforts attempted to effect and failed.

I have in this sketch just glanced only at the history of the poor law, which will be found more detailed (in common with much extraneous matter which might have been well omitted), in Sir George Nicholls's volumes. I will now proceed to discuss a few points upon which it is manifest that a change is either actually impending, or needs to be accomplished.

The first is the law of settlement. By this law, adapted to a ruder age when we had just emerged from that state of feudalism to which I have adverted, the labouring population which had been attached to the soil of the feudal lord, were still practically regarded as belonging to particular localities; and the circumstance of being born in a certain parish, having paid rent and taxes or been apprenticed to a trade in a place, was held to constitute a claim to relief there and not elsewhere. Theoretically the king's highway is regarded as open to all. Everybody may travel where he will, provided only he has money in his pocket to pay for a night's lodging. Without this, he is obnoxious to the operations of the Vagrant Act, and may be sent to gaol as a rogue and vagabond; but if he have resided in a place for a time, maintained himself *creditably* by his labour, by trade, or by his property, or *discreditably* by other means—let him fall into destitution, and his making a claim to relief by the overseers or guardians involves his removal by force, and often after immense law costs, to some distant place in which himself, his father, or his grandfather may have been born or apprenticed, or have rented a house. The law of settlement ought to be at once and for ever expunged from the statute book. To this issue

the five years' residence device, since reduced to three years, inevitably points. Ireland has been and is a difficulty; nevertheless the great amelioration of the condition of that country has almost removed it.

The next point to be considered is the constitution of *Boards of Guardians.*

It was intended in 1834—and the idea is probably still believed in as a fact by the outside world—that the case of every pauper relieved should come before the board at their meetings. Whatever was designed, and however strictly the law may in some primitive districts be carried out, it will astonish some to be informed that in one large union in this county, containing a population of more than 100,000, the board, or relief section of the board administering a large portion of the relief, consists of one guardian assisted by a pauper.

*A priori,* it might be presumed that two primary qualifications for a guardian would be—first, a disposition to benefit the poor by relieving and raising them, and, secondly, an aptitude for administration. *Practically,* the first qualification is the saving the rates of the parish by which he is returned —on the one hand by screwing down the relief given to the uttermost, and on the other by throwing that minimum charge, if possible, upon the common fund of the union; whilst the second has the same object in view, but by another means—namely, by keeping down the salaries of the really working men, the relieving officers and collectors. A few have sought and do seek to be guardians on philanthropic principles, and a few such are elected. But they are generally outnumbered by those who possess the special qualifications I have described and by others who make the board-room the road to notoriety and to the pecuniary advantage of their connexions and friends. But besides these elected members the board is said to comprise gentlemen who may be fairly expected to

be free from sordid motives and considerations—namely, the magistrates. Alas! from some cause not difficult to be divined, this superior element is rarely met with. Except upon some extraordinary occasions the *ex officio* guardians are not found at their posts. Their moral influence might possibly, at least occasionally, prevail; but I have known it unblushingly boasted by a country guardian, who was told that a good and benevolent object would be supported by the sound arguments of the more intelligent members of the board, "We shall beat them in voting."

There is no question that the tendency of boards of guardians, as also of town councils, is downwards in character and tone.

In addition to the care of the poor, of lunatics and, to some extent, of sanitary matters, recent legislation has given them in this county, to a large extent, the power to expend public money in public works. I do not hesitate to say that of the million and a half voted for these public works, whether distributed by guardians or by other local bodies, a very small portion will reach the class for which it was professedly designed, whilst the works themselves would be more economically and better done in another way. The Government do not admit that the persons to be benefited are *paupers;* and even if it were desirable that the money should be expended on such works for the benefit of unemployed cotton operatives, the guardians of the poor are not the persons to superintend them. Sanitary and useful objects may be accomplished thereby, but I predicted from the first that cotton operatives would not get the benefit; and I say so still.

I venture, after mature consideration, helped by the experience of many years active service in poor-law matters, to suggest that a monthly meeting of guardians should take the place of the weekly one; and that the relief of the poor should in the meantime be administered by a *paid chairman*—a man of

superior administrative talent; and I am sure that such a salary as would induce such a man to take the office would prove in the end a matter of decided economy. He should be, in fact, the head superintendent of the union and be prepared to lay before his board all that has been done in the intervals of their meetings. The idea of an office something like this is to be found in the "visitor" of Gilbert's act.

I may, in concluding this branch of my subject, mention that because it was felt that boards of guardians had enough to do in caring for the poor, it was found expedient to create local boards for public works and sanitary operations. This good idea is now set at nought; and by the Nuisances Removal Acts and the Public Works Act these matters are to some extent thrown upon the guardians, who when they *meddle* with matters which are so wholly without their province, will assuredly *muddle* them.

In the town in which we are now engaged, the poor-relief arrangements present two features which, as far as they go, are vastly superior to those of some of our neighbours. The officers are placed under the direct control of a superior officer, styled head-superintendent; and Mr. Hagger, the gentleman who now holds this office, exemplifies the value and great importance of it. The administration of out-relief is ably superintended by another paid officer, to whom all the relieving officers are accountable.

In the large unions, which are constructed more strictly according to the Poor Law Amendment Act and the Commissioners' orders, the clerk has no authority, and, instead of devoting himself solely to the charge of the union and its officers, is so underpaid as to be obliged to eke out his living by other pursuits.

In a neighbouring union a most heterogenous state of things exists—the assistant-overseers and collectors being in some parishes appointed by vestry, in others by guardians.

In the latter case, some under one order of the poor-law board, some under another. The arrangements at Everton, at West Derby, at Kirkdale, at Bootle and at Fazakerley all differ one from the other. This applies to the rate department; whilst the out-relief department has no effectual supervision, and all kinds of irregularity, not to say peculation and plunder, may go on undetected until the half-yearly visit of the auditor, who is expected then to do what the officers of the union declare the whole half-year does not afford one person time enough to get through.

My suggestion, therefore, is that there should be, instead of the present system, a paid chairman or head-superintendent with a salary of say £700 or £800 a-year, and an efficient staff of clerks. All the collectors and relieving officers should be directly accountable to him. He should devote his whole time to the duties of his office and report monthly to a meeting of deputies from each township in the union. With an apparent increase of cost, there would in the end be found a real saving of money, and the work of all the officers be far better done.

The changes which have already taken place, and which must and will shortly be effected, will naturally result in an end being put to the office of overseer—the last pretence for continuing it since the passing of the Union Assessment Committee Act being the still existing and discreditable law of settlement.

In the year 1819, by the Act of the 59th George III, cap. 5, the office of assistant overseer was created. I shall only say with regard thereto, that its functions, powers and duties are to this day undefined. By that statute the appointment rests with the vestry, but there are assistant overseers appointed under certain orders of the poor-law commissioners, which orders it required an *ex post facto* statute to legalize. Upon the whole, the law relating to this office is a perfect muddle,

and to show how it may be amended demands a larger space than I can venture to appropriate in a paper such as this.

A long discussion has lately occupied the public press, in relation to criminal lunatics; and it is proposed by Her Majesty's Goverment to alter the law as to the powers given to the Home Office in this matter. There is, however, another point which has, in the course of the last three years, forced itself upon my attention. By a statute passed about 36 years ago, the maintenance of criminal lunatics was made a charge upon the settlement parish; and under this law, or rather under one which in 1840 took its place, the rates of a small parish in North Lancashire are increased about threepence in the pound annually. Recently the charge for maintaining pauper lunatics has been transferred from parishes in unions to the common fund; but, strange to say, criminal lunatics, whose maintenance ought in fact to follow that of other criminals, remain a charge upon the parish. I may state that by great exertion I have succeeded in bringing this matter so urgently under the notice of the poor-law board, that the blunder may possibly be rectified during the present session.

I have a large mass of matter with reference to that most important subject, the Audit of Public Accounts, to the utilizing which I purpose devoting a portion of my present temporary exemption from official duties. The subject is so large as to be inadmissible into this paper; but I may be excused if, by way of illustrating the impropriety of leaving with public bodies the power of appointing their own auditors, I state the following fact:—Up to Michaelmas, 1845, the accounts of the parish of Liverpool had been periodically examined by an auditor appointed by the select vestry. Whether that gentleman had ever noticed or not the circumstance I am about to mention I do not know. He may have noticed it, but perhaps did not remedy the evil from want of power. The fact is, that the rate book contained a large amount of property

of a certain class *assessed*, but in respect of which no collection was attempted. After my appointment as district auditor, I called upon the overseers to account for these assessments—informing them that it would be my duty to surcharge them if they did not collect them. The issue was that not less than £14,000 per annum has been for many years added to the revenue of the parish.

It would not be very difficult to show that the appointment of district auditor, under the 7th and 8th Victoria, cap. 101, has benefited the parish of Liverpool and the adjoining townships to the extent of more than £20,000 per annum. The experience of nineteen years has, however, proved to me the expediency of an alteration in the mode of appointment to the office as well as in that of exercising its functions.

The great advantage which its existence has accomplished consists in its affording a solid basis upon which to rest any efforts to arrest the peculations and frauds which every now and then appear in the newspapers with reference to public companies and savings banks. A clumsy enactment of last session, with reference to the latter, is simply a futile attempt, upon a most erroneous basis, because a basis of compromise, to arrest an enormous evil.

My suggestions for amending the law, both as to assistant overseers and to district auditors, must be reserved to another opportunity; and I have now only to thank the Society for their patience in listening to a dry paper, for the tediousness of which the importance of the subject discussed is the only apology.

# SHAKSPEARE:

## An Oration delivered at the Soirée held on the 20th April, 1864, in celebration of the Shakspeare Tercentenary.

*By the Rev. A. Hume, LL.D., D.C.L., F.S.A., &c.,*
*Honorary Secretary.*

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At the close of three centuries, in which the English nation has been, on the whole, prosperous and progressive, we are assembled to do honour to the memory of one of her people. It so happens that this Society is one of the earliest to take action on the subject; and it is in consequence of an application from its Council, resolved upon in my absence, that I occupy my present position. It is true that my heart would prompt me, at any time, not only to embrace an opportunity for honouring the memory of Shakspeare, but to seek for it; yet I should have shrunk from the present prominence and publicity, had I not felt that the request was equivalent to a command.

Who does not know Shakspeare, or who is not familiar with his writings in whole or in part? Happily, they have not been laid aside, like the poetry of Chaucer, by the tide of language flowing on in its changes and leaving them almost stranded; nor have they reached that condition in which words are substituted for things, when men gravely discuss the qualities and merits of an author's writings of which they have not read a line. Yet how few, on the contrary, know Shakspeare as he ought to be known; for, it is one thing to float with the current of public sentiment, applauding its favourites,

or pouring contempt on the despised, and it is quite another thing to give utterance to the matured result of independent judgment, as the spontaneous confession of our own faith.

His principal writings are of the class called Dramatic, a familiarity with which is thought by some to be inseparably connected with play-going, though the two are wholly distinct. In studying the literature of our country we find that the Dramatic occupies a large section, and that it is peculiarly important, as illustrative of language customs and manners. But we find that it occupies a higher place still. A tendency to dramatic narrative, or to the recounting of incidents in dialogue form, is inherent in all men, and is sometimes an improvement upon every other form. And, in like manner, the tendency to representation is seen in the mimicry of an infant; or in the gesticulations of a foreigner, who knows that he can thus repair, in a great degree, his deficiencies of speech. But we ought not to defend dramatic writings on this ground only or mainly, supposing they required defence. However they may have degenerated in any country or at any period—and what theme of the muses, say poetry, music or eloquence, has not been employed to injure as well as to elevate?—they come down to us encircled with the most solemn associations. The oldest of the sacred writers, the historian of creation, drops the dry narrative after the first few sentences, and adopts the dramatic first person to describe the creation of light. Nor was it by mere accident that the wisest of men selected this form as the vehicle for his *Song of Songs*. It is a dramatic poem, though the characters or speakers are not formally shown by the printer; and it consists of a series of dialogues. The chief speakers are the Bridegroom and Bride; but there are also the Companions, and a Chorus of Virgins. Nor should it be forgotten that before the art of printing was known, the principal facts of Scripture were given to the people in dramatic form, as in the *Mystery Plays* of Chester.

These formed part of the celebrations for Whitsun week; and such things still exist at a few primitive and remote places on the continent of Europe.

As in other departments of art, dramatic representations are imitative, and they are avowedly no more. They are not meant, therefore, to deceive, any more than a painting or a statue is; nor do they produce that effect except momentarily; or if more enduringly, it is on the simple child of nature who is a stranger to art and artifice. They excite in us, for the time, emotions such as the reality would awaken; and we admire them according as they approximate to the thing represented. With the precise subject we are not identified, though we expect that it will present nothing of a dangerous or disagreeable character. We should admire the painter who gave us a forcible representation either of Judas Iscariot or of the beloved disciple; and so we also admire an able dramatic artist, whether he depicts the evil passions of a bad man or the sublime virtues of a good one. In some departments of art, one man's labours are the beginning, middle and end; so completely, that even an old frame or a bad light cannot seriously injure a first class painting. In others, again, there must be the perfect harmony of two distinct minds, if the effect is not to be marred; as when the actor understands what he reads and reads what he understands,—that is to say, when he thoroughly identifies himself with the sentiments of the author, and successfully conveys them to others.

Of the destinies which shaped the course of Shakspeare, I do not intend to speak; but in its rough-hewing it did not differ essentially from those of other men. As schoolboy, youth, and man, he was subject to the ordinary contingencies; he underwent the same process of education; he looked upon the same green fields and blue skies; combated the same difficulties; exhibited the same organs, affections, senses,

passions. But, one man is gifted with a species of second sight,—for the eye of imagination, like that of faith, carries him far beyond the mere outward appearance; while in the stupid animal-nature of another the words of the poet are verified,—

> A primrose by the river's brim,
> A yellow primrose is to him,
> And it is nothing more.

There is evidence that besides being endowed with the faculties which blossomed so pleasantly and bore such rich fruit, he possessed the inestimable blessing of an intelligent mother; so that the time, the place, the persons, and other accidents in his antecedents and surroundings, contributed in no small degree to the great end. In the arrangements of Providence some men are drifted into a position mechanically; others have to fight their way to it through a thousand adverse circumstances; but in the majority of cases, as in that of Shakspeare, the peculiar state of the wind and tide are the given conditions, and the steering of the bark is the personal problem to be solved. He was not permitted to realise all his own seven stages of human life, but passed away at fifty-two, like a ripe fruit dropping from the bough. By an unusual coincidence, the day of his death was the same as that of his birth, both of which coincide with the day of our national saint. The red cross of St. George has braved the battle and the breeze for centuries; and so long as it remains the recognised blazon of our country, so long will the name of Shakspeare be a household word, and so long will his sentiments be written in the hearts of admiring millions.

The language of his writings is surrounded by just such a halo as gives interest to the expressions, and attracts increased attention to the thoughts. The latter are like books in quaint bindings or like pictures in mediæval frames. It is interesting to estimate how much of our admiration for a writer,

say Bacon, depends upon the quaintness of diction by which he surrounds an ordinary thought, and how some of the best known passages are marred by being modernised, or expressed in the secular language of daily life. But after making all necessary allowance on this ground, it must be admitted that the expressions of Shakspeare are truly beautiful; and it is perhaps an advantage that we can admire his jewels for two reasons, viz., first, for their intrinsic worth, and second for the elegance of their setting. Though I intended to speak only in general terms, to the avoidance of all quotations, and though I take for granted that all present are familiar with the choicest passages, I will yet venture to produce one illustrative extract.

> The quality of mercy is not strained:
> It droppeth, as the gentle rain from heaven
> Upon the place beneath; it is twice bless'd;
> It blesseth him that gives and him that takes.
> 'Tis mightiest in the mightiest. It becomes
> The throned monarch better than his crown.
> His sceptre shows the force of temporal power,
> The attribute to awe and majesty,
> Wherein doth sit the dread and fear of kings;
> But mercy is above this sceptred sway,
> It is enthroned in the hearts of kings,
> It is an attribute to God himself;
> And earthly power doth then show likest God's,
> When mercy seasons justice.

It is said that Shakspeare falsified history, and we are ready to admit that the impressions which he gives us of national and personal facts are sometimes wide of the truth. But it should be borne in mind that books were fewer then than now, while the independent investigation of original documents was rarely attempted; and therefore we ought to look at him in the softened light of his own time, not in the increased splendour of our age. The objection is answered, however, in a great degree, by the fact that he was not a historian, but

a *dramatist;* and that he purified and exalted popular sentiment before presenting it in a condition for representation. Yet it was still popular sentiment, and he has acted just as a great painter who clothes prophets and apostles in the Dutch rustic costume of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It is in obedience to this popular sentiment that Macbeth—one of the most amiable and intelligent of Scotland's early monarchs—is represented as an assassin and a regicide, trampling on the sacred duties of hospitality; that Richard III is hump backed; or that a patient and persecuted Jew, from whom the pound of flesh was about to be cut, is represented as desirous to inflict that suffering on a Christian. There are some of Shakspeare's works which appear to have had no basis of recognised history on which to rear the superstructure; but, as is usual with novelists, incidents of private life, known to the author, are built up with the new materials formed by imagination alone. At the present moment, international events of profound importance call up vividly some of the scenes of Hamlet; and, probably, there are more than the gravediggers of Denmark who would now say that there are men in England as mad as the slayer of Polonius.

It has been suggested by a Lord High Chancellor of England, that Shakspeare was at one time connected with the profession of the law; so familiar does he appear to be with its processes and with the proceedings of courts. But the same remark might be made by a surgeon, a soldier, a mechanic, or a divine; for with the occupations of all of them he was perfectly familiar. And herein consists the leading characteristic of the man. He could identify himself not with one class of persons but with every class. He could throw himself into the position of each in turn, place himself in that person's circumstances, and utter his thoughts in language adapted to his condition and habits, so that he was, in a higher sense than we have known elsewhere, "his

" own and all mankind's epitome." His general training, his omnivorous intellect, his versatile talents, his varied experiences,—all contributed to qualify him for the part he had to play in life; so that no glaring deformity marks his labours, and no signal failure appeared, to mortify himself or the successive generations of his admirers. In our own age, the division of labour causes every man to move in a narrow circle, and to make a deeper groove for himself in proportion as he contracts the area of his labour. In other periods of our history, a different set of causes contributed to produce narrowness of mind and conventionality of thought; and hence, extended information is always rare, and so is extended sympathy; while their coincidence in the same person, and in so high a degree, is a phenomenon which we can hardly expect to witness again. As logicians say, the greater the comprehension the less the extension; that is, the larger the concurrence of qualities required, the fewer there be that possess them. To use his own expression put into the lips of Hamlet, " He was a man, take him for all in all; " or we may say of him as Byron said of Sheridan,—that nature formed only one such person, and that she broke the die in the process of moulding him.

The witticisms which are scattered through his works, the quaint sayings, the homely popular proverbs, the allusions to implements which have become objects in the collection of the antiquary, and the punning or other allusions to popular manners and customs, constitute of themselves a string of literary pearls. Like Falstaff, he was not only witty himself, but the cause of wit in others; and, if all his reflected rays were withdrawn from some of our modern publications, these would be left in comparative darkness. On some occasions he paid too high a price for his jewels, introducing puns where they injure rather than improve; but, whether his pure dia-

monds or his fictitious ones are appropriated, the pilferers rarely allude to the existence of a previous owner.

It is said that one important test of a poet's excellence is his ability to depict a scene in words so accurately that a painter could represent it on canvass; or rather, so that several painters could represent it, with such features of identity as would make it at once recognised. And this standard of excellence Shakspeare has more than attained. His men and women are living realities; they walk and speak and act as if they were our acquaintances of long standing; and the scenes in which they moved are easily added as a permanent background to the succession of facts.

Not only every dramatist, but every artist, ought to be a man with large capacity both of head and heart, and sometimes also of the hand. The intellect or head is the seat of the imagination or fancy, the faculty of invention or creation; and the heart is only another name for the emotions which guide and correct the fancy, and enlarge the area of sympathy. A good artist should be like a polished mirror, both active and passive,—receiving images from a thousand objects, and reflecting them upon a thousand others. Now it is gratifying to know that he whom we are delighted to honour was a man of heart as well as head. He called down the censure of his degraded and unfortunate contemporary Greene, because he adapted and improved for the stage the works of some poetasters and literary hacks. Henry Chettle, the literary executor of Greene, who had edited the *Groat's Worth of Wit*, in which the censure appeared, afterwards made the *amende* in the introduction to his own *Kind Heart's Dream*.

> "The other [who tooke offence], whome at that time
> "I did not so much spare, as since I wish I had, for that
> "as I haue moderated the heate of liuing writers, and
> "might haue used my owne discretion (especially in such

"case) the author being dead—that I did not, I am as
"sorry as if the originall fault had been my fault,
"because myselfe haue seene his demeanour no less
"civill than he exclent in the qualitie he professes.
"Besides, diuers of worship haue reported his upright-
"ness of dealing, which argues his honesty, and his
"facetious grace in writing that approoues his art."

To this we may add, that, with such exceptions as youth or public manners sufficiently explain, he was a man of blameless life and surrounded by public respect. This is saying a great deal, when we reflect that the populace judge a man by his grosser qualities, or by those which are possessed in common with themselves; while, on the other hand, it requires time to abstract the purer or finer essences, which in this case constitute the difference, and which place Shakspeare far above the level of his contemporaries.

Of the manner in which he discharged his daily work we know little, but we know something of the light estimation in which he held it. He worked for the stage, and thought mainly of instructing through the ear; but he seemed never to dream of a reading public without, or of instructing through the eye. And yet the primary result of his pen has diminished to a molehill, while the secondary has swollen to the dimensions of a mountain. We might say, without fear of contradiction, that for every person who has witnessed the performance of any play of Shakspeare, there are a thousand who have been its readers; and that for every individual who has received an impress, from any of them, either of the facts of history or the emotions of tragedy or comedy, there are a thousand in whose hearts his beautiful expressions have been written, and to whose lips they spring up as "household "words."

When numbers of his pieces had received a gratifying amount of approval, and had been before the public for years, he alluded to one of his separate poems, which is

now little known, as his first great work. Thus, genius is so familiar with its own creations, and little partialities spring up so insensibly, that it is not always the best judge of comparative merit in its own productions. Among our literary children, how often is Absalom the worthless also Absalom the beloved; as Milton preferred his little brilliant *Paradise Regained* to his previous lofty epic, which, like Hesperus, that leads the starry host, rides brightest in his intellectual firmament.

In the days of Shakspeare, the painting of scenery was little understood or practised, and the counterfeit presentment of numerous places was far less perfect than it is now. This misfortune was not without a compensating advantage; for, as the novelist is obliged to fill in with description to produce an appropriate setting for his dialogue, so the dramatist indulged in more extended speeches, and there was less of the chit-chat or small talk of our own time.

It is said that "open confession is good for the soul," and I certainly can recal a time when I found it impossible to realise many of the beauties of Shakspeare. His characters, his sentiments, and his expressions. seemed to possess no very marked superiority; and in this way a large number take his greatness on trust, or do not realise it for themselves. These, however, were the sentiments of an immature schoolboy who knew "little Latin and less Greek;" and they are schoolboy sentiments still, no matter how many winters may have passed over the heads of their possessors. A little more information, a little more cultivation of the taste, and they disappear like dewdrops before the ascending sun; so that the statement of the whole facts is only a verification of the words of St. Paul, "When I was a child I spake as a child, I understood as a "child, I thought as a child, but when I became a man I put "away childish things."

It must have occurred to many who have witnessed Shakspeare's plays, that the feeling induced had as much of disappointment in it as of satisfaction. The reason of this is that there are two classes of persons who witness theatrical performances. To the higher of these, pure in taste and active in imagination, the tricks of the stage seem cumbrous and rude; and, while their own ideal approximates to the spiritual and perfect, the concrete exhibits much that is coarse and inappropriate. And how disgusting are some of the conventionalities of dramatic representation! as when the gravedigger in *Hamlet* divests himself of fifteen or sixteen waistcoats in succession, and thus covers one of the most solemn parts of the piece with a jarring mixture of farce and ridicule. To the lower class of playgoers, the commonest scenes and dresses are useful auxiliaries, as their more sluggish imaginations, which can only realise imperfectly the ideas of the poet, are assisted by the adventitious aids of stage "properties." It has been maintained by one critic that the plays of Shakspeare were never intended for representation; but we may at least say, with perfect safety, that the class to whom stage plays are a means of education is fast disappearing. And not to the plays of Shakspeare alone does this remark apply. The day of dramatic teaching has passed away. It has been superseded by the printing press, the railway carriage, domestic music, wood engraving, and other kindred agencies; so that to go back to it as a means of improving our population would be like going back from manhood to boyhood. What scholar now adopts the pronunciation of the stage as his standard, or its strut and mannerisms as the model of rhetorical delivery and graceful action? Indeed the alteration of terms, like the change of the word "holy-day" into "holiday," is very significant; for we seldom hear now of the *drama*, while every piece is a *play*.

But the question recurs, can England hope ever to look

upon another Shakspeare? and we answer unhesitatingly in the negative. We may perhaps hope to see another Milton; though Pollok failed to fill, by his work, the niche which he supposed was unoccupied through the partial failure of *Paradise Regained.* But we can never hope to see another Bunyan, for we have outgrown the taste for sustained metaphor and allegory; and, to an advanced nation, it never can return. So, in like manner, the palmy days of the drama having passed away, the stimulus for its production being gone, and improved scenery having pruned it down more exclusively to mere dialogue, there is no room for another Shakspeare.

If we look back three centuries before his time, we reach an earlier period than that of Chaucer, when the two great elements of our language blended into what we may call chemical combination instead of being as before only mechanically combined. Yet, to-day, the language in which Shakspeare wrote, retains with minute exceptions, a fixed and permanent form. His language is understood by the peasant even better than by the peer; for, in our remote parishes, the expressions of the Elizabethan age still survive, though they have long since passed out of the more polished circles of society. The other languages of Europe, however widely known, are less extensively spoken than our Anglo-Saxon. It is the language of more than one hundred millions of the human race, the ethnological importance of whom it would be difficult to exaggerate. It is spoken all over North America, throughout Australia, in South Africa, in India and in many other communities scattered over the face of the habitable globe. As the age of colonisation had hardly dawned when Shakspeare wrote, our cousins of every clime claim a common interest in him, and a common right to do him honour. It would be indeed ungracious to refuse their claim, for this is not a subject for international jealousies; and we here gladly hail as a brother

every one who speaks the language of Shakspeare, or who looks to England as his national fatherland.

Nor yet is the honour of the bard confined to those who are in any degree or in any sense his fellow-countrymen; for our Teutonic brethren in Germany, the vivacious and intelligent people of France, and even the more phlegmatic natives of remote Russia (whose very civilisation dates from a period much less removed from us than the Shakspearean), have each and all claimed the permission, I might well say even the right, to place a chaplet on his tomb. As for our kinsmen beyond the Atlantic, they were separated from us since the bard of Avon sang; so that they are entitled to claim him in common with ourselves, and they have equal pride and pleasure in rendering a tribute similar to our own. Their claim to a share of the literary treasures of our Anglo-Saxon tongue is so legitimate, that we could not deny it if we would; and it is so creditable to them that we would not if we could.

Amid honours so universally paid, our own little celebration is but as a drop in the ocean; yet the duty, however trifling, should be honestly and heartily performed. To such a man as Shakspeare, the trite expression "one of a million" is wholly inadequate. Nor was he merely one of even a generation; for many millions of civilised men may exist in successive generations, and yet no rival to him be found. While possessing no trait of character in itself unusual or extraordinary, he was remarkable for having no talent wanting. He presented one of those exceptional cases of the coincidence of numerous rare qualities, or qualities in a rare degree, the likelihood of whose occurrence dwindles away, in accordance with the law of probabilities, till it almost vanishes in a cipher.

To others who may be supposed to possess partialities for their own national writers, he appears as a great planet among

secondary satellites; and as time rolls on, successive generations, each more numerous than the preceding, will pay their homage to his genius. Through his writings will our language and national life be made increasingly known; and it is gratifying to feel that, as a whole, he presents a fair picture of English life in every phase. His monument has, therefore, been reared, though no sculptor had lifted chisel or touched marble. More during than brass or any tablet which moth and rust can corrupt, is the memorial reared by himself in his own writings. Every month draws troops of pilgrims to the spot where his ashes rest; while year by year his writings produce, like the beauties of Nature's face itself, pleasures ever fresh and ever new. They call forth praises to Him who gives no talent in vain, and who blessed our country and dignified our race by giving to us especially, and to mankind in general—a Shakspeare.

# SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF THE LIVERPOOL BLUE COAT HOSPITAL.

## PART III.

*By John R. Hughes Esq.*

[READ 10TH APRIL, 1862.]

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IN the former papers were noted, with more or less detail, the records of the Institution during one hundred years of its establishment, ending 1809. The latter year witnessed, not alone the School's centenary, but also the gratifying spectacle of a former pupil, nurtured within its walls, George Brown Esq., occupying the high position of Treasurer, which gave him the chief rule of the establishment. This office he retained during the succeeding year, with so great advantage to the School as to elicit the special approbation of his colleagues. At a meeting held on the 1st January, 1811, the grateful thanks of the Trustees were respectfully presented to him "for his very meritorious, judicious and most advantageous "services" in behalf of the Institution. His successor was Edward Sephton Esq., who filled the office one year. At this period the Earl of Derby, who, besides being one of the Governors and Trustees, was a warm friend of the Institution, wished to place in the School a child who appeared not to belong to the parish of Liverpool. This the Trustees, however much inclined, could not permit, as it was in direct opposition to the Hospital charter, granted in 1739-41. Mr. Sephton was requested to write to his Lordship, apprising him of the fact. This letter was dated 8th October, 1811, and stated that

> At a quarterly meeting of the Committee of the Blue Coat Hospital in Liverpool, on Tuesday, the 1st October, in the year

1811, the Trustees having taken into consideration the recommendation of the Right Honourable the Earl of Derby, for the admission of a child (who does not belong to the parish of Liverpool), are unanimously of opinion, however much disposed to oblige so kind a friend of the charitable Institution, that in this instance, however much they lament the circumstances, they cannot accede to his Lordship's wish consistently with the spirit and often repeated expressions of the charter.

The letter added that

from the first meeting of the Committee after the decree from the Chancery court of Preston was received, it has been the invariable practice strictly to restrain the admission to the children whose legal settlement has been proved to be in Liverpool.

This case suggests the remark that some expressions of the charter have come, at this distance of time, to be misunderstood. By it every child seeking admission into the Blue Coat Hospital is required to belong to the town ***and*** parish of Liverpool. Elsewhere, however, the disjunctive form, town *or* parish, is used. Again, at the period of the founding of the Blue Coat Hospital, Liverpool had been only some ten years erected into a parish, distinct from Walton, to which it had before been attached We also know that for many years the old borough and parish of Liverpool were co-extensive; but under the Municipal Act the town was greatly enlarged, taking in portions of adjoining townships. From these circumstances the question naturally arises,—and, indeed, has arisen,—as to the meaning of the terms town and parish, as laid down in the charter. The expression ***town*** throughout precedes that of *parish*. Eminent counsel seem agreed upon the reading that the two forms of expression in the first instance clearly convey the meaning that children of parishioners, even though not townsmen, are equally eligible for admission; while in regard to the second point, they say that children belonging to the adjoining townships, even when

those townships became incorporated with the town, are not eligble within the meaning of the charter, inasmuch as the town may be enlarged to almost any extent; nor could some extension have been otherwise than contemplated at the period of obtaining the charter (1739-41), by the introduction of such clause. So recently as the 24th April, 1857, the opinion of the present Solicitor-General, Sir Roundell Palmer, was had, confirmatory of others previously obtained.

The construction put upon the words may fairly be esteemed in harmony not alone with the direct letter, but with the spirit of the charter. Assuming, however, that even a more liberal and extended construction could have been given, it would have increased the number of applicants, already too many; while the vacancies remained precisely the same. The very year following that in which the Earl of Derby sought admission for a child not belonging to the town, there were on one quarter day no fewer than 138 applicants, while there were only 8 vacancies!

Mr. Sephton having occupied the Treasurership for one year, was followed, in 1812, by Wm. Beckwith Esq.; and Matthew Gregson Esq., (the well-known author of "Gregson's "Fragments") filled the post in 1813. During Mr. Beckwith's time the "Madras system" of education—so named from originating in the Military Orphan Asylum at Madras—was introduced into the School with great success; and the method pursued received the high approbation of the Rev. Dr. Bell, the excellent and philanthropic founder of the scheme. Although the "Madras system" was introduced to this country in 1797, on Dr. Bell's return from India, it had made comparatively little way at the time it was adopted in the Blue Coat Hospital.

Its distinguishing characteristic, the principle of tuition by the scholars themselves, was esteemed worthy of a trial at the Blue Coat School, as it gave to the master "the

" hundred hands of Briareus, and the hundred eyes of Argus," most useful auxiliaries if only on the ground of economy. The system was tried with excellent effect. On the 23rd September, 1813, the School was visited by the rev. founder himself, in company with his friends Lord Kenyon and Counsellor Marriott. In a letter to Mr. Gregson, dated 25th September, 1813, he conveys his thanks for the gratification which the visit afforded him. " Allow me, my dear sir, to " thank you for the very great gratification which I experienced " at your Blue Coat Hospital School, in which I did not see, " as I often see, the lifeless corpse, but the living soul of the " Madras system of education. I beg that you will remember " me thankfully to our friend Mr. Brown whom I met with " you on my former visit at Liverpool, who, like you, takes a " lively interest in the admirable institution. Your master is " a treasure. Ever and for ever, God Almighty prosper you." In a postscript he adds—" Your School might be made of " great use in training masters, and in propagating the system." That the suggestion made in the postscript was acted upon, together with the effects produced, is shewn by the report of 1825, which states—" In very few, if any, schools in the " United Kingdom has the Madras system of education been " brought to greater perfection. This fact has been fully " admitted by those whose experience renders them the most " competent judges, and indeed its superiority in this respect " is so generally acknowledged, that it is being a nursery of " teachers for all the surrounding neighbourhood. No less " than twenty-seven masters and mistresses have received " instruction in the past year, and are now gone to superintend " institutions of a similar nature in other places." In 1827 thirty-one masters and mistresses were being taught; and for many years schoolmasters and mistresses were sent to the Blue Coat Hospital to perfect themselves in the system.

In acknowledgment of the kind visit paid by Dr. Bell and his friends to the School, the Trustees at their next meeting

passed a resolution—"That the thanks of the Board be given "to Lord Kenyon, Dr. Bell and Mr. Marriott for their very "kind attention to the children of this Hospital." To this Lord Kenyon replied—

> I am very much honoured by the notice which the Trustees of your Blue Coat Hospital have been pleased to take of my visit to it in attendance on my invaluable friend Dr. Bell. I beg you to return my best thanks for the honour done me. I have been nowhere since to see anything at all equal to it, and in the spirit of the system I am convinced that Mr. Fallows and his children cannot be excelled; and I can venture to take your word in testimony of its mistress's merits. I have very good accounts of Dr. Bell and of my excellent friend Mr. Marriott; both will, I am sure, be much gratified by your compliments to them. I am much obliged by your Liverpool papers, and see you are sincerely zealous in so good a cause.

Mr. Marriott, to whom allusion has been made, was an indefatigable supporter of Dr. Bell's educational views, and second only to him in sustained enthusiasm for the development of popular and religious education. Mr. Fallows, of whom both Dr. Bell and Lord Kenyon speak in such high terms, had been appointed master on the 10th October, 1811. His predecessor Mr. Chambers, who was brought up in the School, had been the master from 1801 to this time, when he appears to have resigned. Mr. Fallows was master up to December, 1817, when he resigned and was followed by Mr. R. W. Bamford, of the National Society of London, who subsequently left the School and took holy orders.*

* Mr. Bamford afterwards became Vicar of Bishopton and Minor Canon of Durham Cathedral. He died in 1838, at the comparatively early age of 42. He was a descendant of the eldest daughter, being the great grandson of "Wonderful Walker," the primitive Cumberland Pastor, who has been immortalized by our Poet Wordsworth in the *Excursion*. Mr. Bamford was one of the earliest biographers of his great grandfather; and to his papers, published in the *Christian Remembrancer*, October, 1819, Mr. Wordsworth was indebted for materials of his prose history of the life of "Wonderful Walker." The *Old Church Clock*, by Canon Parkinson of Manchester, a work dedicated to Mr. Wordsworth, refers eulogistically to Mr. Bamford's literary efforts.

Contemporaneously with Mr. Fallows Miss Donnelson was appointed matron, and she was followed in that office, in 1817, by Miss Mary Halliwell, also brought up in the School, who was the school-mistress alluded to in Lord Kenyon's letter.

Intimately associated as were the efforts of Dr. Bell with the mode of tuition pursued in the Blue Coat Hospital, it was but natural that the demise of this truly great man,—great in the best sense of the term,—should have received special notice in the School report of 1831, which accordingly mentions with deep regret the "death of the venerable founder of "the Madras system, the late Rev. Dr. Bell, who, after a life "spent in the labour of religious education, died as he lived, "devoted to its cause; 'and being dead, yet speaketh,' by his "splendid legacies to the schools and universities of his native "land." These annual reports were variously written, some by the Treasurer of the School, others by the Master, and many by the late Ven. Archdeacon Brooks and our present Rector. That of 1831, from initials privately marked on it, appears to have been written by the rev. Rector.

A more excellent coadjutor in the work of instruction could not, perhaps, have been found than the Treasurer of the Blue Coat Hospital for 1813, Mr. Matthew Gregson. We have direct evidence of the part he took in the establishment of the Madras system in what has immediately preceded; nor were his efforts directed to the accomplishment of this plan only. From going among the boys during their hours of leisure, he noticed many of them to be engaged in drawing. Being passionately fond of that art, and having long experienced how highly useful a knowledge of design might prove to the boys in after life, he determined to obtain, if possible, the appointment of a drawing master. Accordingly, he addressed a letter to the Trustees, detailing his views at great length and entreating their pecuniary support "to this," as he expresses it, "my most hearty wish." This letter was

subsequently issued as a circular to the subscribers and to the Committee and Directors of various other schools in Liverpool. Very few copies of it are extant.*

* The following passages are sufficiently interesting for preservation here:—
"In these days every building displays a taste superior to that of our forefathers,
"the interior as well as the exterior; our gardens, with the improvements of a
"*Brown*, a *Webb*, and a *Repton*, acquire a perfect picturesque appearance
"to what they did at the end of the seventeenth century:—

"'Grove nodded then at grove, each alley had its brother.'

"All is changed and very widely changed indeed, and all for the better we trust.
"Every useful article and every luxury of life are marked with a new character;
"even the stores of Greece and Rome are searched for forms by artists, statuaries
"&c.; even the Egyptian taste has been latterly introduced, the worst of all
"tastes; but a change below our Saxon, and infinitely below the grandeur of
"the Gothic of the reign of our Henry VII; but thanks to a better genius, it is
"dying fast away, and will soon be exploded. * * * * I beg to introduce
"the history of the greatest manufacture that ever occupied the people of our
"town, and it once stood very high in the manufacturing of the delph ware, in
"which, so late as the year 1759, there were no less than eleven large potteries in
"full work, and also every merchant belonging to the town was concerned in one
"or other of them. These manufactures were shipped to all the ports we traded
"to, and riders despatched all over the country to supply its dealers, and London
"took a good deal. The late Duke of York had a service of it, highly admired for
"its beauty and glaze. There were besides some pothouses of red or black ware
"such as those now established at Prescot. The china ware was also then manu-
"factured equal to any in the kingdom in Liverpool; and the number of hands in
"this trade, I am well informed, was superior in number to that of any other trade
"in Liverpool then or since. There were twenty-two freemen in one house only,
"besides other workmen employed. Several natives of this town are foremen at
"various potteries and china works in the kingdom even at this day. Owing,
"then, to a want of taste and knowledge of design, the whole trade sunk at once
"into nothing—our potters were distressed beyond measure; but the energy of
"a Bentley (our own townsman), a man of high classical knowledge of the
"antique and design, produced patterns which with Wedgewood, who had know-
"ledge in chemistry, led to a new era in the pottery trade; and the scene was fixed
"in Staffordshire. To this scene our Liverpool potters flew, and where the trade
"has since then (about 1765), flourished round modern Etruria; and where, by
"a perseverance and continued improvement, they had fairly and deservedly
"fixed a valuable trade, and their articles, for chasteness and beauty in form and
"workmanship, find a ready sale over the world. * * * Reverting to
Bentley and Wedgewood, "whose energies called into trade," he remarks, "has
"annihilated the East India china trade, and removed and annihilated the delph
"ware trade from Liverpool (now, nowhere that I know of, practised), which yet
"was so lately as 1790 in our town manufactured; and there is now one of the
"late directors, a respectable owner of one of these last potteries yet alive and
"well. Liverpool has produced a number of ingenious artists who are de-
"parted; Bentley, above named; Stubbs, horse painter; Wilson, the best marine
"painter of his day; Dean, a sculptor of great celebrity, who died prematurely;
"and some others of great mechanic memory. We boast a Finney, a Lither-
"land,—and one Saddler, a printer, formerly partner with Guy Green, was the
"inventor of the art of printing the ware, instead of painting it by hand as was
"the custom upon the delph ware,—Dr. Turner and Baker, formerly potters, the
"inventors of painting upon glass, specimens of which may be seen in St
"Anne's Church, Liverpool." He then follows up with strictures upon the style and building of St. Peter's Church, "which," he states, "though a very useful

In consequence of Mr. Gregson's efforts, a drawing master was appointed to the School; with, however, anything but happy results. Probably Mr. Gregson, in his well meaning zeal and great ardour for the realization of his hopes and plans, acted a little out of rule. The after proceedings indicate some such thing; for, at the very next meeting of the Governors and Trustees, held June 29th, of that year, we have it recorded,— "It having come to the knowledge of the Board, that a master "has been admitted to teach the boys the art of drawing, "without the knowledge and consent of the Trustees,—Re- "solved, that in future the drawing-master be discontinued "and any expense incurred be not defrayed out of the funds "of the Institution." At the following quarterly Board, held October 5th, Mr. Gregson was in his place, and complained justly, "that he felt hurt at the motion that had been made "last Board-day, during his absence in London and without "any previous notice called on that particular business, and "even at the very time he was attending the great National "School in London, with Dr. Bell, on the Madras system of education." He also stated, that, "while in former times, he "conceived the boys had too little time, he now thought they "had too much time on their hands and that this time could "not be more profitably employed than in learning the art of "drawing." The result of the meeting we might almost

"building, exhibits no knowledge of the Grecian or Roman architecture; the "style of Inigo Jones, who flourished in King Charles's time, or of the great "Bedlington, might have been adopted; but it seems a building without taste, "has *five* doors into it of as many different shapes. * * * In the beginning "of his Majesty's reign, a new order of things succeeded. Taste before this "time was not much attended to—our beloved sovereign encouraged painting "and design—he established the Royal Academy. Thus the fine arts have "gradually met with encouragement in all his Majesty's United Kingdom. "Liverpool has not been behind; for the writer remembers when there was not "a purchaser to be found in Liverpool for a two-guinea print, when thousands "and tens of thousands are now expended in pictures, designs and prints, in the "houses of gentlemen, merchants and our tradesmen." He apologetically closes his letter, after again urging the great desirability of teaching boys drawing, by remarking—"I am afraid my ardour on this point has led me to a longer "dissertation than I sat down intending to give."

have anticipated. It was adverse to Mr. Gregson, and what was, in his mind, of greater moment, it was adverse to the pupils of the School.

In the face of these proceedings it is pleasing to note that two of, perhaps, as good names in art as Liverpool can boast,—Samuel Austin, the well known water-colourist, celebrated as a perspective delineator, and Richard Ansdell, A.R.A., the distinguished painter of animals,—received their education at the Blue Coat Hospital. It will also be gratifying to all true lovers of education to learn that the art of drawing has now for some years been taught in the School; so that of Mr. Gregson it may be said that he was a little in advance of his day.

When resigning the Treasurership Mr. Gregson "boasts "that there cannot be found in any place so many good and "tractable children, and upon the whole so healthy, for so "low, confined and isolated a situation; but he hopes in his "time to see a building erected that will do honour to the "taste and feelings of the inhabitants." It is now just fifty years since utterance was given to these sentiments; yet the old School maintains its former site, and, judging from appearances, there is no immediate likelihood of a change. The medical officers of the Institution did, however, in 1840, urge in a report to the Trustees that the site was disadvantageous.

The successor of Mr. Gregson in the Treasurership for 1814, was Bryan Blundell, Esq., grandson to Bryan Blundell, the founder of the Institution. Bryan Blundell, the elder, was made Treasurer to the School in 1714, and one hundred years later his grandson, bearing the same name, filled the same position; proof, among many others, of the interest taken by Bryan Blundell's descendants, in the Institution with which his name is so intimately associated. The latter Mr. Blundell, who afterwards resided in the Isle of Man, died in 1844 and was buried in the family vault of the Blundells—

where also lay his distinguished grandfather—on the south side of St. Nicholas's Church in this town.

During the two following years the office was held by another of the Blundells—Henry Blundell Hollinshead, Esq., son of Jonathan Blundell and likewise grandson of the first Bryan Blundell. In the Board Room of the Institution is a portrait of Mr. Hollinshead, by Lonsdale and presented by his son, the late Richard B. B. Hollinshead Blundell Esq. Prior to the time of his taking office a Committee had been appointed to prepare plans for erecting a new school room. The buildings in School lane—part of which had been occupied at one time as a stocking manufactory and afterwards as a pin manufactory, and lay contiguous to the old School—were surveyed and a new School was erected on their site. When completed, in 1816, the cost of the erection was £7,332 8s. 10d. To defray the expense the Trustees were compelled to withdraw Corporation bonds to the amount of £5,000. The remaining sum was raised by a special subscription, the Corporation generously contributing £500. A very few years later the Trustees were obliged to alter and repair the older buildings forming the front of the Hospital, with the dining hall and chapel, which had become dilapidated.

As the Institution, by the withdrawal of £5,000 of its bonds, had lost £250 per annum of interest, and the warehouses in Hanover Street, by an unlucky combination of circumstances, were at the time untenanted, crippling still further their resources by some £400 per annum, the Trustees became anxious to provide the requisite means without trenching further on the permanent income of the Hospital. They were relieved of any difficulty upon that head by the munificent donation of £2,000 by one of their own number, the late John Harrocks Esq.; this was about the estimated cost of the repairs. The alteration was effected in 1821, at a total expense of £2,204. Consequent upon this last altera-

tion we find that the drawing of the Hospital front, anterior to this date, differs in some slight particulars from that known to us at the present date.

When Mr. Hollinshead resigned in 1817, he was followed by James Bourne Esq. There were at this time only 220 children in the School. In 1798 the number of scholars was 327, having gradually increased during the previous 35 years from 200, which was the number in 1763. From the former period down to 1817 the number had been continually varying. When all the alterations, however, had been effected, the number again increased; at the close of 1823 there were 320 scholars, and 350 in 1827; from that time to the present 250 boys and 100 girls have been regularly maintained on the foundation. The whole cost is now about £6,000 per annum, towards which the Trustees have, however, a permanent income of not quite £2,000 a year. It is the sole endowment which we possess in Liverpool; yet it is only adequate to the maintenance of about one-third of the children—depending for the balance on the subscription list, which amounts at present to about £2,000; and on the precarious sum derivable from benefactions or legacies.

From the last report, issued during the past month, the Institution is represented to be in debt some £1,867. It speaks well, however, for the liberality of Liverpool, that in all former years, whenever this favourite Institution has really been pressed, the fact needed only to be known, to be met with a liberal and hearty response. The Trustees have thus been enabled, during many years, to maintain the same number on the foundation.

Reference has been made to the retirement of Mr. Robert Walker Bamford. This took place in May, 1819, when we find him addressing a letter to the Treasurer, stating that he had received from the Rev. Dr. Bell the offer of the chaplaincy of Sherburne Hospital. The Treasurer at the time was Richard

Dobson Esq., who continued in that office till his death, in 1835. Between Mr. Dobson, who entered on his office in 1819, and Mr. Bourne, who held it in 1817, the Rev. William Blundell had occupied it one year.

Mr. Forster succeeded Mr. Bamford, his brother-in-law, as master—Mrs. Forster becoming matron in 1826, at which time Miss Halliwell was superannuated, having, during a period of thirty years, occupied various posts in the establishment to the satisfaction of those who had the superior rule of it.

During Mr. Dobson's period of office, a lending library was suggested for the School, and one was established in 1824. The District Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge made to it a first present, being a set of the Society's tracts. Among other donors was Mr. Grant, the Commissioner for enquiring into public charities, who presented a complete set of the Kildare Place Society's books. A letter accompanied it, dated 31st March, 1828, and addressed to the Worshipful the Mayor of Liverpool, in which he says—

> The pleasure which we received last week, from going over the Blue Coat Hospital, by the obliging attention of Mr. Blundell and Mr. Brown, makes me wish to add something to shew my obligation which the children had not already possessed. I have therefore obtained from the Kildare Place Society, Dublin, a complete set of the books published by them as a lending library, which is very much used in Ireland, and which I beg the Committee will do me the honour to accept for the use of the children in the Hospital. I know a great deal of care has been bestowed in the compilation of these works. I believe that nothing objectionable can be found in any of them. As I hear from Mr. Forster that you are likely to attend the Quarterly Meeting of the Governors to-morrow, I have great pleasure in addressing this letter to you.

These formed a goodly nucleus, so that now, from pur-

chases as well as gifts, the Boy's Library contains upwards of 2,200 volumes. A sum of £50 was given in 1833 by the then mayor, the late Charles Horsfall, Esq., to purchase two globes for the School; any surplus money to be invested in books for the library. The idea afterwards suggested itself to have a library ticket engraved, to be given to such boys only whose superior merit gave them the privilege of using the library during school hours. The obverse represents a Blue Coat boy resting one hand upon a globe, and with the other pointing to the well-arranged books upon the library shelves. The reverse bears the following inscription—"As "this ticket will be the strongest certificate of good conduct "which any boy can possess, he must constantly bear in mind, "that one single instance of misconduct or neglect of duty "whilst in the School will be the means of its immediate "forfeiture. No excuses will avail anything." A library for the girls was also subsequently formed.

In 1827 the Trustees appointed a deputation to wait on George Brown Esq., a name that necessarily enters largely in this paper, requesting him to sit for his portrait to be hung up in the Institution. To this request he sends the following reply:—

> In compliance with the repeated request of yourself and several of the Trustees of the Blue Coat Hospital, that I should sit for my portrait, I have, though I confess reluctantly, acceded. I say reluctantly, not considering that I have in any manner merited the kindness and marked attention I have at all times experienced from yourself and the Trustees generally; yet, if feeling a lively interest, and endeavouring to fulfil a duty which gratitude has always pointed out, I may in some manner claim the kind attention you have shewn me; for, I can with truth aver, that, since the day I left the happy mansion, under the roof of which I passed my boyhood, until the present moment, I never lost the remembrance of the advantages I then received, to which in a great measure I owe all my success through life. I assure you I never

enter or pass the School, but I feel a secret pleasure such as I cannot describe. It always leads to the reflection that I left the School, like many others, an orphan, penniless and friendless. Providence has indeed been kind to me. I certainly thought it the happiest day in my life, as I then expressed, when I was appointed to fill the situation you have so many years held, with such credit to yourself and advantage to the Institution. I hope you may live to see the boy you selected out for the picture in the same situation; he has many advantages under a kind master such as I never had, the probability is therefore in his favour; and I sincerely hope his conduct may deserve it. I leave the disposal of the picture to the Trustees, and beg to assure you and them I shall feel the highest pride in their doing me the honour to seek it.

Believe me to be, dear Sir,
With respect and esteem,
Yours affectionately,
GEORGE BROWN.

To R$^{D.}$ Dobson, Esq., Treasurer,
Everton Crescent.
21st March, 1827.

It needs observing that a portrait of Mr. Brown, by Lonsdale, had already a place in the Board Room of the Institute. The Trustees' intention was to have the latter one put up in the Boys' School Room, where it now is, in order to point to them a moral, during all time, recalling to their minds the story of his life, and the power of his example. One of the boys, as stated in the letter, is drawn by his side.

In the School report of the following year, 1828, the personal circumstances of the pupils at that date are brought under notice. "It may not be out of place," it states, "to "remark, that a great proportion of the present inmates of "the Hospital are the orphan children of parents who have "been in respectable, frequently affluent, circumstances, who, "in the full enjoyment of health, and to all human thought, "with a prospect before them of many years of uninterrupted

" domestic hopes, little imagined the reverse of fortune which " was to overtake them, and deprive their infant progeny of " parental protection, and render them dependant on the " bounty of others."

While quoting from reports of the School, it may be useful to cite, along with the foregoing, a passage from an address written by the Ven. Archdeacon Brooks, which was issued with a report some eight years previous to the last, and relates to the pupils' religious persuasion. " An erroneous impression " has been made upon the minds of some from the belief that " the children of dissenters are excluded from the Hospital. " From whatever quarter this mistake has originated, its best " refutation is the fact, that above one-fourth of those at " present enjoying its benefits, are the children of parents " whose religious persuasion is different from that of the " established Church."

Although so liberal in this respect, it professedly owns the doctrines of the Church as the basis upon which her instructions are founded; but no rejection is ever made on account of the religious tenets of the parents.

On the 9th June, 1835, the Treasurer of the Institution, Mr. Dobson, died, after having filled the office for sixteen years. By his active and unremitting exertions the Institution attained to a degree of excellence not surpassed by any similar establishment in the kingdom. His death was felt to be a loss, not alone by the children, but by all who knew him. In testimony of the great services rendererd by him through so long a course of years, the Trustees erected in the Chapel of the Hospital a small yet beautiful monument to his memory. It was executed, at a cost of 100 guineas, by Mr. Solomon Gibson of this town, a brother of John Gibson, R.A., the celebrated sculptor. It bears the following inscription :—

Sacred
To the memory of
RICHARD DOBSON,
Born 20th October, A.D. 1781,
Died 9th June, A.D. 1835,
Who, for the last sixteen years of a life devoted to the
cause of Charity, was the able
Treasurer and kind and faithful friend of the
Institution.

THIS MONUMENT
has been erected by the Trustees as a sincere but very
inadequate tribute of
gratitude for his inestimable services.

"Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord; yea, saith the Spirit, "that they may rest from their labours, and their works do follow them." —Rev. 14, 13.

At the close of the year in which Mr. Dobson died, under date December 29th, the name of Mr. Brown—now in the sere and yellow leaf—is once again introduced in the following record:—"That thanks be given to George Brown Esq., who, "having been admitted 70 years ago an orphan to the Hospital, "has, from the time that by the blessing of Providence upon "his industry he was enabled to do so, been its kind and "constant friend."

Following Mr. Dobson, the late James Aspinall Esq. undertook the Treasurership, which he retained during three years. Mr. Aspinall was known far and wide among all classes. The remembrance of his strikingly handsome face, as well as the extreme kindliness of his nature, will be long cherished in this his native town. Although among the present scholars in the Hospital few, if any, have any personal knowledge or recollection of him, there yet remains among them a kind of traditionary interest, by which his memory is preserved, associated in their own tender minds with ideas of all that is manly and noble and kind.

He was succeeded in 1838 by Anthony Swainson Esq., who held the office ten years. Mr. Swainson is still living,

though at a good old age, and is among the oldest, if not the very oldest of the Liverpool merchants who now appear on 'Change. In his first year of office the Blue Coat Brotherly Society was established (March 1838). Its members are all "Blues." The objects of the Society are, in the first place to visit those who have been apprenticed from the School and, where necessary and deserving, to offer pecuniary help, and more especially to give friendly counsel—oftentimes needed—and a kind word of encouragement; in the next place to afford facilities to members desirous either of commencing or extending their business, by a grant of loans from the funds of the Society, at an almost nominal rate of interest.

The Rev. Erskine Neal, in an admirable little work, entitled "The Riches that bring no Sorrow," refers in eulogistic terms to this Society. "How needful," he remarks, "and "how valuable a brotherhood in a town so full of tempta- "tion as Liverpool." The reports furnish us with an insight into the Society's character. The last report states that "boys who have left the Blue Coat Hospital and are "apprenticed in or near the town—orphans commencing the "world at a most critical period of life—are the Society's "chief care." Another report of the preceding year, shews the necessity of some such organized plan for visiting the boys. "The world to them," it remarks, "after leaving the "home of their boyhood, is indeed a new one: the attractive "sights appear to them in a false light—their snares are not "perceived, and thus the danger of falling into them is not "apparent. How perilous is such a situation! To counter- "act these injurious influences by counsel and kind advice, "by words of warning and encouragement, to act the part of "father and friend," it describes to be the mission of the Society.

Upon the plan of the Blue Coat Brotherly Society, and with much the same objects in view, many kindred societies

have been formed all over the country. The honour of taking the initiative belongs, however, to the Liverpool Society.

The first president—who may, perhaps, more certainly than many others who put in a claim, be considered the founder—was the late Mr. Forster, the master of the School. The Treasurer, the late Mr. Edward Gray, continued in that office from the Society's commencement to the close of his life in 1855. To his memory a monument was erected in St. James's Cemetery, by the members and a few other friends. The office of president has hitherto always been held by the master of the Institution.

A distinguished member of the Blue Coat Brotherly Society, Richard Ansdell Esq., A.R.A., wrote to Mr. Forster a letter dated London, 20th Dec., 1841, offering to paint for the School a picture. I will give, however, his own words:— "I have written this," he says, "not being able to attend "myself, being in London on business, to ask permission to "commemorate the Board of the 28th inst. I have a great "wish to give the School a picture, as a grateful remem- "brance of the benefits received in the Institution, and I "think no picture would be so much in character as a Meeting "of the Governors in Committee. I think most of them were "in office when I was in the School. If this request meets "with their approval, I shall feel myself honoured. Perhaps "you will be kind enough to lay my request before the Board." To this proposal, but one answer could have been anticipated. The picture of "The Meeting of the Trustees in "their Board Room" was accordingly proceeded with, and it now adorns the walls of that same Board Room.

I may here mention that in June, 1843, Mr. Lacey made a request to dedicate to the Trustees the engraving of "the "March Out of the Blue Coat Children, with their Band, on "St. George's day," which was granted; and a little subsequently, in 1849, Mr. Branch, of Hanover Street, made the School a present of the original painting, which is placed in the general office.

Before Mr. Swainson vacated the Treasurership, a gift, as munificent as it was unexpected, was made to the School by the late John Huddlestone, Esq., of this town. On the 24th March, 1847, Mr. Huddlestone went to the Hospital, carrying a parcel of papers, which he deposited on a desk in the office attached to the Institution, and desired Mr. Forster, the master, to look over them, informing him that it was his intention to present the whole of the property, represented in and by them, to the Blue Coat Hospital. Mr. Forster scarcely realized the magnitude of the gift thus so unostentatiously made, amounting, as it afterwards proved, to some £8,000 or £10,000; the property, singularly enough, was all situated immediately round and about the School. That Mr. Huddlestone had for some time contemplated the act, was proved by the elaborate memoranda he had made with his own hand, as a guide to those who would have the after-management of the property. It resembles in its particularity of detail the "Moore rental." In presenting this property Mr. Huddlestone stated that he gave it "for a permanent fund to the Institu-"tion;" and he was particular to say that the fire insurance was to be regularly paid when due. From his own memoranda, dated 27th March, when he first offered the property, I find that it consisted of dwelling houses and warehouses situated in Peter's Lane, School Lane and Manesty Lane; another warehouse lay in College Lane, right opposite to a back gateway of the Blue Coat Hospital, together with a house in Hanover Street, of which Mr. Huddlestone was careful to say that the rent was £40 per annum, and paid *punctually*. Punctuality was with him one of the highest virtues, and, in this case, covered a multitude of sins. He not only gave the rent of each premises, but the exact date on which each tenant entered; and particularly notes one tenant to have broken faith with him, having made two promises, "in both of which," he says, "he failed." Among other matters the dates of any

repairs to the buildings were given by Mr. Huddlestone, drawn to the minutest particulars; he states the amount laid out on the property, together with the amount and dates of the original purchase; and finally informs them of the rates of insurance, with his opinion of such as he thought were high, and notifies those which were reasonable and low. Having given these various memoranda, all in his careful handwriting, he had the estate legally conveyed to the Governors and Trustees, for the benefit of the Blue Coat Hospital.

Feeling that a mere vote of thanks, recorded in the minutes and tendered to him, was an insufficient acknowledgment of so munificent a gift, the Trustees agreed that a deputation of six of the members, viz., the Treasurer, the two Rectors, the Recorder, Mr. Gibbon and Mr. Langton, should personally wait on him, and convey their thanks. This, for obvious reasons, was intimated to him by Mr. Forster, and elicited the following characteristic reply: —

SIR,

With reference to what you mentioned to me on Wednesday last, I fully appreciate the good feelings and respect which induced the appointment of the deputation to wait upon and thank me for my gift to the Blue Coat Hospital, which I made with great pleasure. I am much flattered by the kind intention as evinced towards me; but, with their kind permission, I beg leave most respectfully to dispense with troubling them to come up here, and I fully accept "the will for the deed." I consider the compliment to have been duly paid by the resolution passed, which is *sufficient* for me, and I am equally obliged to them for it as if they came personally with it. I am not partial to form or ceremony, but the reverse; yet I value highly their intention as expressed by you. With *best* wishes for the prosperity of your excellent Charity,

I am, &c. &c.,

3rd April, 1847. JOHN HUDDLESTONE.

To MR. W. FORSTER,
Master of the Blue Coat Hospital, Liverpool.

Mr. Forster, to whom this letter was addressed, resigned the head mastership in the following year, having held it twenty-eight years. He was a good and worthy man, highly esteemed by all who knew him. He retired, together with the amiable partner of his life, to their native county of Cumberland—a county noted for its good schoolmasters—where they resided to the period of Mr. Forster's death, which occurred last year. His successor in the mastership was Mr. Thomas Wood, B.A., who had been brought up in the School, and had afterwards graduated in the university. While in the university he had taken, in 1844, the first of the second prizes for Hebrew; and, in 1846, he received a prize for Catechetical Divinity. Mr. Wood has been always highly valued for the tact and skill he possessed in tuition; and it may be here mentioned that one of his pupils from the School, who was ordained a deacon at the Chester ordination of the past month, took last year the University Silver Medal at Dublin. It is matter of deep regret to all that Mr. Wood's health has failed him from the very onerous nature of his duties at the School, which misfortune compels him to resign the charge for which he has at all times shewn himself so very capable.

The same year in which Mr. Forster resigned the mastership, Mr. Swainson gave up also the Treasurership, when he was followed by the late Joseph Langton, Esq., a man of exceedingly good presence and of great kindness of heart, who occupied the post one year; and he by Richard Gibson Esq., who filled it till 1854. Edward Guy Deane Esq. succeeded him, 1855-1858; and, after him, Wm. Langton Esq., the present highly esteemed Treasurer, and a son of the late Mr. Langton who was Treasurer in 1848. Members of this family have been intimately associated with the management of the Institution during every period of its establishment down to the present time.

The anniversary of the 150th year of the Blue Coat Hos-

pital's founding was held 13th January, 1859, when the Bishop of Chester, with his accustomed willingness, preached the sermon at St. Peter's Church. The Mayor of the town, William Preston Esq. and several of the Governors and Trustees of the Institution attended.

Application was made to the Bishop by the Governors and Trustees, who met at the following quarterly Board, to be allowed to publish the sermon preached on that occasion; but, owing to the Bishop's absence from home and other circumstances, causing the letter to come to his hands at a rather late date, he suggested to the Trustees the advisability on that account to forego their views. In the Liverpool papers of the day following, Tuesday, the 14th January, an abstract of the Bishop's sermon may, however, be found.

I have now endeavoured,—indifferently enough, I fear,—to lay before the Society "a Sketch of the History of the "Liverpool Blue Coat Hospital," in three semi-centurial periods. I only hope that what has been written (although they be but chapters of every-day incidents) may serve some useful purpose, were it only to draw attention to the records of an institution which, while it is the oldest, is also among the noblest of which our town can boast.

# THE ART-BEARINGS OF PHOTOGRAPHY.

*By John Glover Esq.*

[Read 3rd March, 1864.]

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One of the leading questions on which will hinge the future of photography, is that which is now employing a considerable amount of attention in art-circles. Shall it continue to plod industriously along as a mechanical science, or shall it rather occupy a more elevated position by taking rank with the arts themselves ?

There are few who will venture to deny that photography has already effected much for art in both its practice and encouragement. This, however, presents no argument either for or against the question at issue ; the position of which will be gathered from a late critique in the *Times* newspaper on a photographic reproduction of a portrait of the late lamented Thackeray from a drawing by Lawrence. I may also add that the article alluded to suggested the subject for discussion this evening.

The reviewer proceeds to say—"It requires no small merit "in a drawing, or photograph from one, to hold its own against "the direct work of the sun. Whatever may be the demerits "of Phœbus Apollo as a painter, he has qualities which make "him a formidable rival to the limner who has to trust the "unaided powers of pencil or port-crayon. But it only needs "a comparison of Mr. Lawrence's photographed drawing with "any of the heads photographed from Thackeray himself, to "feel that good work of the human brain and hand—even "when it is but the transcript of a living physiognomy—has "in it something which cannot be got out of the soulless "operation of chemicals and camera. No one who knew

"and loved Thackeray could hesitate a moment between the "fac-simile of Lawrence's drawing, and the finest photograph "ever taken from the noble head of the living Thackeray." The reviewer subsequently adds—"For such a likeness we have "every reason to be grateful to Mr. Lawrence, and to the "photographer's art which multiplies copies of such a drawing "so cheaply."

We gather from the foregoing that even in portraiture the importance of photography is not questioned, which is only a very recent concession on the part of the fraternity; but that importance is based on its mechanical capabilities as a *limner* only. The critic argues thus: a work of art is solely dependant for its intrinsic merit on the brain by which it is produced. Whatever may be the subject chosen by the artist for his study, whether portrait or landscape, his *intention* is apparent throughout; his very soul is there embodied; in the portrait by his appreciation of some peculiarity in pose or expression, which he by an effort of his genius transfers to the canvas, so as to bring home to the spectator not only the bare features, but the character of the original. The landscape painter also, who takes nature for his guide, when he has made choice of his subject, watches with all the admiration of a lover the varying moods of his mistress, and selects one which harmonizes with his ideas of pictorial effect. It may perchance be one of her most fitful moods, and although it passes from his vision like a rapid but a vivid dream, it has left an indelible impression upon his memory: his utmost enthusiasm is aroused, and the picture grows into life under the touches of his pencil. But midway in his task new difficulties arise: he feels, and with truth, that some of his chief effects lie in the due preservation of the relative proportion between his light and shade. During these critical moments I can conceive that he begins to lose the recollection of that vision of nature's charming mood. Whatever it may

be necessary to sacrifice to fidelity, his picture *must* be saved as a work of art; he touches here, erases there—this is what the artist calls improving upon nature—yet it is in those effective touches that the picture becomes stamped with the mind, with the character and with the genius of its originator.

The art-critic further argues that photography is purely chemical and mechanical; that the camera has only to be pointed at the object, a few, to him, uninteresting chemical manipulations performed, and an impression is obtained from which numbers of identical proofs can be multiplied, every one of them as lifeless and as deficient in soul as the mahogany instrument by which they are produced.

I have thus briefly stated the case, and before I proceed with the defence allow me to add that the allegations of the critic are to a very large extent founded on fact. Photography being such an enticing amusement, has enlisted the sympathy of all classes and conditions of men. It numbers among its earnest followers nobles of our land, dignitaries of the church, military men, astronomers, lawyers, physicians, and men of every grade of intelligence, even to the toiling artizan. Further, we as a nation to the present time have not accepted the rules of art as a prominent part of the education taught in our schools. When we consider that the votaries of photography, though men of information and taste in the general acceptation of the terms, are comparatively illiterate on matters connected with art, it is very easy to account for the existence and circulation of a great number of photographs calculated to offend the educated eye of the artist, and to give him a very unfavourable impression with regard to photography itself.

Undoubtedly, as in every other profession, there are what we designate artists born. These are the very men who generally adopt art as a profession, and vain is it to attempt to allure them from its pursuit. I am personally

acquainted with one of these born artists. He was the son of a farmer, who, far from appreciating the dawn of genius in the boy, commanded him to desist from occupying his time so unprofitably, and enforced the drudgery of the plough and the farm yard. It was shortly after discovered that the youth had spent his small allowance of pocket-money in the purchase of drawing materials, with which he occupied the hours which should have been devoted to sleep. The relentless father took these away from him and administered a severe castigation. There was nothing left for the poor fellow but to burn sticks into charcoal, with which he made his sketches when unobserved, on the back of the dairy door. The parent finding the incorrigible boy would never make his way as a farmer, bound him apprentice to a large Manchester machinist. Here the youth's spirit was crushed and his sinews taxed seven long dreary years at the vice, at the end of which time he knew very little more of mechanics than he did at the commencement of his term. But now he was free as the bird, and, nothing daunted, he resumed with double energy his old congenial avocation. For many years he prosecuted his studies with poverty staring him in the face, but he was determined to succeed, and successful he became. His profession became lucrative, and I have seen many truthful and artistic productions from his easel. I cannot conclude this sketch without giving you the sequel. A short time ago, acknowledging the importance of photography, he adopted it to assist him in his studies, and at this moment his numerous friends and old supporters know not which to admire most—his artistic sketches, or his artistic photographs.

It is now time for me to enter upon the defence by endeavouring to convince you that the feeling of the artist *can* be exemplified by means of the lifeless camera, and that the inartistic qualities which have been so much derided by the biased followers of art as a profession, are not inherent to photography.

I will present you with a slight sketch of the principal methods—each of them independent ideas, by which photographers have endeavoured to effect this object; with what success I leave you to judge from the illustrations I shall have the honour to bring under your notice, which have been kindly furnished by the artists who produced them.

Like painting, photography divides itself into two distinct branches—portraiture and landscape—each forming in itself a separate study, and both can very seldom be successfully followed by the same individual.

Strange to say, the chief difficulty in the path of artistic portraiture is mechanical, which may sound in the ear of a portrait painter as somewhat anomalous. Every one who has even cursorily given his attention to the study of mankind will be constantly impressed with the ever-changing expression of the human countenance—the only index of the restless soul within. Now the features are lighted up with a brilliancy of animation, inspiring the most commonplace with a certain character which commands feelings of pleasurable interest in every beholder. Again, there are fleeting moments when the countenances of the fairest and noblest of created beings are overspread with a preeminent lustre, almost amounting to sublimity, which reminds us that man was created in the image of his Maker. It is, I repeat, the perception of these grand truths, their retention in the memory, and their faithful delineation on the canvas, that ennobles the painter's art and by which all his success is achieved.

The photographer, although he may appreciate to their fullest extent these elements of artistic power, has to contend not only with mechanical defects present in the best-constructed optical instruments, but also with the lack of sensibility in the photographic tablet itself. Instead, therefore, of being able to watch his opportunity, and secure his desired result at the critical moment, he has to be content with a kind

of average expression of the countenance which, during the comparatively long time required to produce the impression, in extreme cases, may have varied between the gaze of animation and the fixed stare of the corpse. However reluctant photographers may be to acknowledge the fact, it is easy to gather from the foregoing considerations that the commencement of the art-era in photographic protraiture in the fullest meaning of the term will have to be dated from a period which has to arrive, but which, I believe, is not very far distant, when the latent image will be impressed with the rapidity of the lightning's flash.

The direction in which photographic portraitists have essayed to produce works of art again subdivides itself into two minor branches. The first consists in the production of a series of separate studies with a view to grouping the whole into one picture by means of double printing. The labour thus entailed is very considerable, presenting difficulties which, at first sight, appear almost insurmountable; and few are the men who would attempt to overcome them in the present state of our scientific knowledge These difficulties have, however, to a very large extent been successfully grappled with in some of the productions I now bring under your notice. In these specimens it is easy to recognise the conception of a master mind. That there are failings one can but admit; still enough of the artistic element is infused to show the working of a refined intelligence. He forgets the means by which they have been produced, and his mind becomes absorbed in the contemplation of the subject, catching up the feeling of the producer; thus the part which has been taken by the much abused camera and its accompaniments sinks to that of a secondary cause, corresponding with the indispensable auxiliaries of the easel, namely, the palette, the brushes and the colours of the painter.

I now bring under your notice some illustrations of the

second type of artistic composition in portraiture, which consists in the grouping of the subjects to be delineated, and the recording of the same in one picture by a single effort of the artist. This is by far the simpler method, and partakes less of the imputation of being mechanical. As far as our science can at present carry us, this course seems more likely to secure satisfactory results, in an artistic point of view, than the former method. For in constructing a work of art piecemeal, the mind of the artist has to grapple with a great number of independent ideas all tending towards the same centre. Each individual effort has to be studied in a twofold light, as a separate picture, and in relation to the position assigned for it in the composition. A very slight mistake in any of the parts endangers the acceptation of the whole as a finished work of art, although there may possibly exist nothing which the most fastidous critic would condemn in any one of its components taken independently.

In the branch of photographic composition I am now endeavouring to illustrate, although we have greater optical difficulties with which to contend, we have greater scope for the formation of artistic groups, because the object contemplated is effected by a single stroke of genius, harmonizing with the inspiration of the true artist, which most frequently manifests itself in flashes of his intellect. Not that I would have you suppose that less mental labour is expended. He first has carefully to study his subject in all its bearings, coping manfully with his increased optical difficulties, at the same time pondering over his pictorial requirements, spending thus days of thought and ofttimes nights without repose until all the details are thoroughly impressed upon his mind's eye. He then commences with all the enthusiasm of his elder brethren to embody his conception by aid of the truthful photograph, often, to his great chagrin, *too* truthful, for it reveals to him vividly how far he has gone astray. Nothing

daunted, he returns to his task again and again with renewed vigour, nor flags until his labour is rewarded with success.

I now enter upon the second division of the descriptive portion of my subject, the endeavour to illustrate the method by which it has been sought to produce the pictorial in landscape photography.

In this branch of the art-science mechanical difficulties, which have hitherto proved such barriers in the path of portraiture, exert less influence and are gradually being surmounted. The great fault which artists have pointed out in photographic landscapes is the absence of those qualities which constitute many of the chief features of a painting. I allude to the delineation of clouds and general atmospheric effects. No one has regretted these failings more than the artistic photographer. Happily, however, for our art, optical science has been making and is still effecting rapid strides; the exposure to light in the camera has gradually been diminished, until pictures, possessing all the vigour and definition of the best productions, can be secured in the small fraction of a second of time. By this means the most transient appearance in nature can be registered in all the beauty and truthfulness with which it flashes on the retina of the artist. He who years ago when toiling at his sketch, was perhaps transfixed by some gorgeous outburst of nature's own magnificence, and has longed for some fairy spell by which the enchanting but momentary scene could be indelibly impressed upon his canvas, has now the vision realized, as far as can be, by the beauteous gradations of light and shade in the photograph.

Moreover, the resources of chemistry are bestowing on the photographer increasingly greater boons. He is gradually becoming more and more independent of his laboratory and chemicals, able to give his almost undivided attention to the "art bearings" of his profession. He looks upon his camera

and its accessories with less veneration than formerly; his thoughts are concentrated upon the picturesque selection of his subject; he waits patiently until the ray falls in such a direction as will ensure him the correctly balanced light and shadow; he watches for those atmospheric effects which will harmonize with the whole; and, when he considers that he is favoured by the presence of all these elements of success, his mental labours terminate, and all that remains for him then is to secure the desired result.

It may, however, be said truly of landscape photography, that it is not the rule, but rather the exception, for everything to progress so smoothly as I have described. The painter is not bound to embrace all within the boundary of his vision. An objectionable tree can be omitted from his sketch, or a straight line can be curved to suit the requirements of his taste. It is not so with the photographer. He has obvious barriers to contend with that his brother limner would skip over with the greatest ease, but which present impracticable obstacles in his path. He it is, however, who proves himself the most worthy of the name of artist who, in the face of the greatest difficulties, succeeds in spite of them all.

In conclusion, allow me to recur to a statement I have already advanced, that doubtless photography has already effected much for art itself—much in its encouragement, but more in the practice. For illustrations, I will not refer you to your portrait albums on the drawing room table, nor even to your portfolio of choice photographs. By the possession of these you at least acknowledge the utility of the art by which they have been produced. I would invite you to examine the productions of our modern engravers prepared for the beautifying of our serials and standard literature. How often do we find in the margin the important words recurring "from a photograph," thus guaranteeing at least a certain amount of fidelity. This, however, if viewed in the

spirit of the *Times* critic, presents no argument in favour of art-photography. But I would with pride draw your attention to the pictures which emanate from the studio of the veritable artist himself as they hang upon the walls of our exhibitions; to his delineations of draperies, his foliage and in his appreciation of detail, instead of being altogether satisfied with dashes for effect; and this the photograph has taught him can be consummated without any sacrificing of those noble qualities which stamp his productions with the utmost refinement of artistic genius.

Photographers are now sanguine of success in one of the most important strides that their beautiful and useful art could possibly have achieved; no less than the transfer to the metallic plate, by means of light's own influence, of the results which have been obtained in the camera. This point being gained, a mighty impulse will be given to the interesting science whose claims to the sisterhood of art I have so feebly brought before you. If I have succeeded in convincing the members of this important society that those claims are worthy of discussion, I shall consider that the object of my task is fully completed.

# THE MEDALLIC HISTORY OF NAPOLEON THE FIRST.

*By Frederick J. Jeffery, Esq.*

(Read 12th November, 1863.)

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An original MS. list* gives the number of medals issued under the auspices of the first Napoleon as one hundred and thirty-seven; there are, however, several besides that are not included in this list. I am able to lay before you a collection of eighty-four, which afford specimens of the best and most important, and will, perhaps, warrant my speaking of the whole series as fairly represented by those now exhibited. No one person ever produced so numerous or so valuable a set of medallic illustrations of great events, as Napoleon the First; and it is fortunate that he turned his attention to their production at an early period of his career, omitting no opportunity to continue the series. They thus form, perhaps, the most complete numismatic record that ever existed; and their interest is obvious. A glance at these remarkable works of art carries us back in thought to the scenes they illustrate and to the man whose wondrous story they tell; bringing before us the more striking points and tragic scenes of the grand historic panorama which forms the opening of the nineteenth century. They are curious as shewing the variety of the devices adopted; and some of them have a special interest as affording proof of a magnanimity not always discernible in the actions of Napoleon. When the time of disaster arrived, and the end of all the pomp and circumstance of his career was plainly at hand, he had the

* Note, p. 102.

greatness to direct the engraver to proceed with his work. "Finish the series," he said to Denon, "whatever happens; "and let posterity be told that I abdicate in favour of my "son!"*

While Napoleon gained renown as a lawgiver and a commander, he did not forget the arts and sciences; wherever he went with his victorious army he never let his soldiers abuse sculptures, paintings or any object of art, but sent everything of value to Paris. The bronze horses from the Church of San Marco of Venice were taken and placed on the top of the arch in the Place Carrousel; the paintings and sculptures of the Vatican were deposited in the museum of the Louvre—his aim being to concentrate in Paris all that was most precious in art. He improved the architecture of his capital; he began to join the Tuileries with the Louvre, in more recent times so magnificently completed by his nephew. Canals were constructed under his direction; and the mint did not remain untouched by his genius, as he appointed skilful die-sinkers to engrave and strike medals of every remarkable event in his reign.

The medals before you may be classed as illustrating his career—

I. As a general;

II. As a sovereign;

III. As a patron of the arts, learning and progress.

It will be impossible here to take each division by itself; I will, therefore, touch upon the medals simply in chronological order.

The first to which I desire your attention is the first in order of the entire series (fig. 1). It has on the obverse the head of Napoleon, at the age of twenty-six, in a general's uniform; when, having been recently appointed to the command of the "Army of Italy," as it was afterwards called, he issued

* Medallic History of Napoleon Bonaparte, Scargill, p. v.

an address, containing these words :—" I am about to conduct " you into the most fertile plains of the earth. Rich pro- " vinces, opulent cities, will soon be in your power, where " you will find harvests, honour and glory."* The reverse illustrates this prophecy so remarkably fulfilled; the Angel of Victory rises from the redoubt on Montenotte, her sword in her right hand and laurel branches and a crown in her left, and starts to go over Italy. In exergue is inscribed— " Bataille de Montenotte, MDCCXCVI."

The second to which I shall call your attention is that beautiful specimen of engraving illustrating the conquest of Egypt. When the members of the Directory at Paris beheld the marvellous achievements of the young general of the Italian army—winning victory after victory; that of Montenotte followed so rapidly by the battle of Lodi, the entry into Milan, the rejoicings there and the honours paid to him, the victories of Arcola and of Rivoli, Venice laid at his feet—they began to get afraid that this young genius, who had won the heart of every soldier, would not long remain subject to their orders, but would aspire to be the head of the Government: accordingly a suggestion, originated in the time of Louis XV, was adopted by them with the greater alacrity as Napoleon urged them to give it their attention, viz.: that of the conquest of Egypt. A large squadron, bearing 36,000 men, was given him, and he embarked at Toulon and landed in Egypt. This is illustrated by a medal (fig. 2) bearing on the obverse the head of Napoleon, in the unusual position of nearly full face, with a lotus-flower wreath to indicate the country; on the reverse is the young warrior, riding in a chariot drawn by two camels, and draped in the ancient gorgeous trappings, passing between Cleopatra's Needle and Pompey's Pillar, while Victory is descending to

* Alison's History of Europe.

crown the hero with laurels and put the palm in his hand. The inscription is—" L'Egypte conquise, MDCCXCVIII."

The next medal is in commemoration of one of the most astounding feats ever performed. In 1800 Napoleon had an army of reserve in Burgundy, for what purpose was only known to himself. He suddenly raised the camp and, with snow on the roads, crossed the St. Bernard to get between the enemy and his supplies and thus cut him off. The cannons were dragged over the mountain in sledges. So, looking at the medal (fig. 3) on the obverse we see Victory, with the palm in her hand, driving a pair of horses, which are dragging a cannon over the ridge of a mountain. The inscription is—" L'Armée Française passe " le St. Bernard, XXVIII Floréal, An VIII, MDCCC." The reverse has " Bataille de Marengo," the date and a bunch of keys, twelve in all, being the number of important cities that fell into Bonaparte's hands in consequence of the victory.

The next (fig. 4) celebrates the so-called peace of Amiens, which was virtually only a truce. Napoleon never would acknowledge the emblem of England to be a lion, but held to the original heraldic figure a leopard. He blamed England for the rupture of the peace of Amiens; and immediately ordered his troops to seize Hanover. On the medal we see the roll of parchments being torn by the leopard, and the inscription—" Le Traité d'Amiens rompu par l'Angle- " terre en Mai de l'an 1803." On the reverse we again find Victory: here she is riding on the horse of Hanover, with the symbolic crown in her hand. The inscription is— " L'Hanovre occupé par l'armée Française, en Juin de l'an " 1803," and " Frappée avec l'argent des mines d'Hanovre, " l'an 4 de Bonaparte."

The next medal is one which might be classed under those of Napoleon as patron of Arts and Sciences,—Public Instruc-

tion organised (fig. 5). On the obverse is the head of Napoleon, not as on those of his conquests, but without the victor's laurels. He is here not a hero but a *savant.* On the reverse a young student draped in the classic style is seated holding a roll of manuscripts in his hand.

On another we find Napoleon's head laureated, though without inscription; but on the reverse we find the cross of the Legion of Honour. Napoleon was not a man for a republic—a government without orders, grades or distinctions. Equality had run itself to death since the overthrow of the monarchy. The Parisians remembered the day when a display of pageantry, a military band, a body of soldiers, a staff of officers, state carriages containing crowned heads, dukes, barons and high functionaries, followed by more soldiers and a band, passed from the Tuileries to Versailles, or from St. Cloud to the Luxembourg, and they now beheld only persons in plain dress walking from the Tuileries to the Louvre. It was too monotonous for such an excitable race; they wanted something new and stirring. Napoleon saw this: his aim was the throne, but he dared not show it. The metal required tempering before it would be sufficiently pliable: he wrought it as only a skilful workman could—and, at the fitting moment, amid the *eclât* of the nation, he assumed the purple.

On thus raising himself to be Emperor, Napoleon was most anxious it should appear that he was elevated to that position as the chosen of the people: he therefore had registers opened in every commune in France, for the people to record their wishes; the results were 3,572,329 in his favour, while there were only 2,569 negative votes. Having got the assent of the Senate and the people, he ordered a medal to be struck, taking the design from Clovis, who, when proclaimed king, was raised on a shield by his soldiers. Here (fig. 6) we have Napoleon in imperial robes, though with no crown, held

up on a shield by a senator and a labourer, with the legend—"Le Sénat et le Peuple;" and in exergue—"An XIII."

He next invited the Pope to place the crown on his head, when the question arose—Where should the coronation take place? Rheims was the city where all the French Kings were annointed; but during the Revolution the phial of holy oil had been broken and thrown away. Should it take place in the Church of the Hôtel des Invalides or in Notre Dame? Napoleon was afraid that if it took place at the Hôtel it would be said he trusted to the armed forces, so it was determined Notre Dame should be the spot. The medal for the celebration of the event bears on the obverse the profile of His Holiness, and on the reverse the Cathedral of Notre Dame. Legend—"Imperator Sacratus," and "A.M." (Ave Maria) in a monogram in the field (fig. 7).

He was now an Emperor without a court; and, as he had to be careful lest he should raise against himself the power of any one of the many sections into which France was split, he began by instituting the Legion of Honour, opening it to all classes; and the establishing of this order is illustrated by the medal (fig. 8) on the reverse of which we have the cross of the Legion, and on the margin—"Auspice Neapoleone "Gallia renovata."

The next medal (fig. 9) commemorates the bringing of that masterpiece of sculpture, the Venus de' Medici, to Paris. Its inscription is—"Aux arts la Victoire."

That which follows (fig. 10) is to commemorate the tremendous preparations for the greatest desire of Napoleon's life—the invasion and conquest of Great Britain. On the reverse we have Hercules strangling the lion or leopard, and on the margin—"En l'an XII 2,000 barques construites." No sooner had Napoleon been crowned Emperor and founded the Legion of Honour, than he set out for Boulogne to review his forces, both military and naval, decorating those

worthy of such distinction with the cross of the Legion of Honour, which act is also commemorated by a medal (fig. 11) known by the name of "The oaths of the army,"* because at this time the troops all took the oath of allegiance to their new Emperor.

Among medals not less interesting for other reasons is one (fig. 12) which bears upon its reverse "Descente en Angleterre. "Frappée à Londres en 1804." But the "taking of London" was not destined to add to the triumphs of the great conqueror; this medal is now a very rare curiosity, only to be met with in the cabinets of two or three collectors.†

Another celebrates the masterpiece of modern legislation, the "Code Napoleon." The conception of the design for this medal (fig. 13) is remarkable. On the obverse we have Napoleon attired in the toga of an ancient philosopher, holding a scroll in his right hand; and on the reverse a copy of an ancient sculpture—the statue of Minerva or Pallas, found a few years ago at Velletri and now in the museum of Napoleon.

And here begins the great general European war. Chagrined at seeing his fleets destroyed one after the other as fast as he could form them,—while Austria (who was fully expecting he meant to invade England) prepared to attack France when her ruler should be in London, and accordingly marched into Bavaria,—Napoleon suddenly broke up his camp at Boulogne, proceeded by forced marches across France, passed the Rhine, captured Ulm and Memmingen (fig. 14), and fell like a thunderbolt upon his enemies at Austerlitz. The capitulations are perpetuated by a device well adapted to illustrate the haste the Emperor was in to defeat the Austrians before they could be joined by the Russians and Prussians. In a triumphal car, drawn by two horses at full speed, without arresting his

* Serment de l'armée d'Angleterre a l'Empereur Napoleon."

† The Napoleon Medals, Edwards, p. viii.

progress, he receives the keys of the two cities, who deliver them in a kneeling posture; and the victory of Austerlitz is commemorated by Jupiter's thunderbolt (fig. 15).

The surrender of Vienna and Presburg, which preceded the battle of Austerlitz, is represented by Napoleon as Hercules receiving the keys from the allegorical figures of the two cities (fig. 16).

The next medal will for ever perpetuate the names of the contending powers: for on one side we see Napoleon's profile, with the inscription—"Bataille d'Austerlitz;" and on the other Alexander I of Russia and Francis II of Austria, the allies against Napoleon.

There is next a medal commemorative of the recovery of the colours at Innsbrück (fig. 17). General Ney, having driven the enemy back, took possession of the capital of the Tyrol and there found the colours which the Tyrolese soldiers had taken from the Republican army. When Germanicus, the Roman general, defeated Arminius and recovered the standards taken by him from the Romans under Varus, a medal was struck in Rome to celebrate that event.* Napoleon copies that design: it is a Roman soldier, erect, holding in his left hand a standard and in his right Victory.

Now comes the peace of Presburg (fig. 18). In the days of ancient Rome the temple of Janus was shut during peace and open during war: so on this medal we have the temple of Janus shut.

By the treaty of Presburg Venice was restored to Italy, which event is perpetuated by a medal with the bridge of the Rialto and "Venise rendu a l'Italie, XXVI Décembre, "MDCCCV."

To attempt, in a paper of this length, a description of every medal now before you would be impossible; I shall, therefore, only notice those that appear to me most important.

* Medallic History of Napoleon Bonaparte, Scargill, p. 51.

A.

B.

C.

"I have thrones enough to bestow without asking."* On the reverse is a throne, with the mantle and sceptre of Charlemagne; and a table with crowns and sceptres thereon; there are three crowns on the floor, two overturned and one battered: evidently these symbolize three kingdoms—Holland and Naples overturned and Prussia battered and beaten to the ground; for when this medal was struck, Napoleon had placed one of his brothers and Murat on the overturned thrones of Holland and Naples, while the King of Prussia could scarce muster 60,000 of his original force of 150,000 together, and his kingdom was overrun by, and all his fortresses were in the hands of, Napoleon;—I believe the twelve crowns on the table are the crowns of the twelve sovereigns who formed the Confederation of the Rhine.

After the battle of Preuss-Eylau, the medal of which is before you, Napoleon retired to Osterode (fig. 22) and then to Finchenstein, where he spent the winter in recruiting his forces and sending out men to harass the enemy. This medal has Napoleon's profile on the obverse; while by the reverse, bearing that of Fabius, he compares his tormenting his foes by skirmishing to that ancient warrior, who did so much mischief to Hannibal by annoying his forces with marching and countermarching.

I pass over several to draw your particular attention to that grand conception, that gigantic undertaking, so ably recorded on the medal—the road over the Simplon. "The construction "of a route over the Simplon was decided upon by Napoleon "immediately after the battle of Marengo, while the recollec- "tion of his own difficult passage of the Alps by the Great "St. Bernard, at that time one of the easiest Alpine passes, "was fresh in his memory. . . . . It was commenced on "the Italian side in 1800 and on the Swiss in 1801. It "took six years to complete, though it was barely passable

* Alison's History of Europe.

"in 1805, and more than 30,000 men were employed on it at "one time. Excepting the Cénis, this was the first carriage "road carried across any of the higher passes of the Alps."* The medal (fig. 23) represents the Simplon in the form of a giant, his head in the clouds and his feet in the Rhone, which waters the foot of the mountain. He sits on the rock, viewing with astonishment the trains of travellers, waggons and artillery, as they pass for the first time over his limbs. The date of completion, 1807, is inscribed on the rock, while "Simplon" is in exergue.

Now comes the companion medal to that of the peace of Presburg (fig. 24), struck to record its rupture. On the former we saw the temple of Janus shut; here the great doors are broken and the fragments strewed upon the ground. The inscription is—"Traité de Presbourg rompu par l'Au- "triche, X Avril, MDCCCIX."

After examining the medals illustrating the invasion of Russia in 1812, we come to the retreat of the army (fig. 25). The medal represents Boreas blowing the gales and northern winds from his budget and pursuing Mars, who is enraged at having to retreat before the stormy element, while on the ground we see cannons, a baggage-waggon and a dead horse.

In passing some we come to three (figs. 26, 27, 28):— "Fevrier, MDCCCXIV," the month when Napoleon made a last effort against united Europe. "The sojourn in the island of "Elba:" on the obverse is his profile in military uniform, but no laurels; the reverse bears on the margin the signs of the Zodiac, illustrating the twelve months he spent on the island; Fortune is sitting on a rock, looking at the fishes of the Zodiac (February), while an eagle is perched on another, ready to fly at any moment. "The return;"—here we have the eagle flying back to France and Napoleon received by a civilian and a soldier, representing the nation and the army.

* Murray's Handbook for Switzerland, p. 195.

Fig. 29, "Couronné à Milan," supplies a sketch of the Iron Crown of Lombardy, now in the Imperial Museum at Vienna, the Austrian Emperor having refused to give it up in 1859 when the kingdom to which it belonged passed from his rule. Fig. 30 commemorates the number of States which united in swearing fealty with their right hands on the French fasces, constituting themselves, at the dictation of Napoléon the First, the "Confédération du Rhin." Fig. 31 was struck on the visit of the King of Prussia to the Mint at Paris, and bears the inscription "Frédéric-Guillaume III. roi de Prusse visite "la Monnaie des Médailles, MDCCCXIV." Whenever foreign potentates visited Paris, similar medals were struck.*

A few more and the series is complete; but I cannot close without mentioning that the last struck by Napoleon's orders was in commemoration of that great battle which brought about such a long peace—Waterloo, or, as the French have it, Mont Saint Jean. The medal is characteristic:—"on the "obverse is the Emperor's head, and on the reverse are all the "paraphernalia of war heaped together and broken: an over-"thrown laurel still hangs above them. Fortune flies, taking "with her the palm of victory."† Fit emblem to commemorate so great a blow to so great a man!

I have thus attempted, in a brief outline, to give you a faint idea of these remarkable productions, the signs to distant ages of the wonders of the past. As less durable records perish, medals become more and more precious; by them

"Again *Gaul's* glories shine;
"Her * * godlike heroes rise to view,
"And all her * * garlands bloom anew."

* Figs. 29, 30 and 31 are not in their chronological order, not having been included in the original notice.

† Medallic History of Napoleon Bonaparte, Scargill, p. 154.

☞ Those illustrations with a letter such as 18 A, are reverse of 18 and obverse of A plate 1; they are taken from the author's own collection, though there are several with the obverse of C as well as A and *vice versâ*, that are not shewn as such. The legends on the obverses are generally the same, but the designer's and engraver's names are given in different positions, sometimes on the fall of the neck and sometimes in exergue.

# NOTE.

## LIST OF THE MEDALS OF NAPOLEON I,[a]

*From the "Medallic History of Napoleon Bonaparte, translated by Miss Ann "Mudie Scargill, from the original Manuscript, intended to have been "published by the late Government of France." Printed* 1820.

Those marked with an asterisk were exhibited at the reading of the Paper.

*1. Battle of Montenotte.
2. Capitulation of Mantua.
3. Conquest of Lower Egypt.
4. Conquest of Upper Egypt.
*5. Egypt conquered.
6. Arrival at Fréjus.
*7. Battle of Marengo.
8. Armed for Peace.
*9. Rupture of the Treaty of Amiens.
*10. Public Instruction organized.
11. Attempt of the Third Nivose, 24th December.
*12. The Legion of Honour.
13. Museum Napoleon.
*14. The Venus de' Medicis.
15. The Medal Mint re-established.
*16. School of the Mines of Mount Blanc.
17. School of Pharmacy.
*18. The Coronation.[b] (In four different sizes).
*19. Building of Two Thousand Vessels.
*20. Oaths of the Army to the Emperor Napoleon, and Distribution of the Cross of the Legion of Honour.
*21. Pope Pius VII crowns Napoleon in the Metropolitan Church of the Empire.
*22. Visit of Pius VII to the Medal Mint.
*23. The Code Napoleon.
24. The Flags given to the Army by Napoleon.
*25. Central Society for Vaccination.
*26. Liguria re-united to France.

a This list is not entirely in chronological order, but is reprinted here as it is given in the original.

b Should be "Election of Emperor." Two—different obverses.

*27. The Coronation at Milan.
28. The Tomb of Desaix on Mount St. Bernard.
29. Another on the same subject.
30. The School of Medicine.
*31. Breaking up of the Camp at Boulogne.
32. Allocution on the Bridge of Lech.
*33. Capitulation of Ulm and Memmingen.
*34. Capture of Vienna and Presburg.
*35. Recovery of the Colours at Innsbrück.
*36. Battle of Austerlitz.
*37. The Three Emperors.
38. Interview of the Two Emperors.
*39. The Peace of Presburg.
40. The Cathedral of Vienna.
*41. Conquest of Venice.[a]
62. Conquest of Istria.
*43. Conquest of Dalmatia.[b]
*44. Conquest of Naples.
*45. Sovereignties bestowed.
46. Marriage of the Prince of Baden.
*47. Column of the Grand Army.
*48. Triumphal Arch.[c]
*49. Confederation of the Rhine.
*50. Battle of Jena.
51. Alliance with Saxony.
*52. Entrance into Berlin.
*53. Capitulation of the Four Fortresses of Prussia.
*54. Occupation of Hamburg.
55. The French Eagles on the Vistula.
*56. Battle of Eylau.
*57. Sojourn at Osterode.
*58. The Deliverance of Dantzic.
*59. Battle of Friedland.
*60. The Victory of the 14th June.
*61. Occupation of the Three Capitals.
62. Conquest of Silesia.
*63. Peace of Tilsit.

a This should be "Venice restored to Italy."
b Two—different obverses.
c Place Carrousel.

*64. The Grand Duchy of Warsaw.
*65. The Kingdom of Westphalia.
*66. Marriage of the King of Westphalia.
67. The Crowned Eagle.
*68. The Re-union of Etruria to the Empire.
*69. The Simplon.
*70. Road from Nice to Rome.
71. Battle of Sommo Sierra.
*72. Entrance into Madrid.
*73. Rupture of the Treaty of Presburg, and Battles of Abensberg and Echmühl.
*74. Departure from Paris. Entrance into Vienna.
*75. The French Eagles beyond the Raab.
*76. Battle of Essling, and Passage of the Danube.
*77. Battle of Wagram.
*78. Attack of Antwerp, and Sojourn at Schœnbrunn.
*79. Peace of Vienna.
*80. Re-union of the Roman States.
81. Rome the Second Capital.
*82. Conquest of Illyria.
*83. Visit of the King of Saxony.
*84. Visit of the King and Queen of Bavaria.
85. Visit of the Grand Duke of Wurtzburg.
*86. Marriage of the Emperor. (In four different sizes).
87. Love carrying off the Thunder.
88. Orphans of the Legion of Honour.
*89. The Statue of Desaix.
*90. Birth of the King of Rome.
91. The Birth of the King of Rome, *second series*. (In three different sizes.)
*92. Capture of Wilna.
*93. Battle of Moskowa.
94. Entrance into Moscow.
*95. The French Eagles on the Borysthenes.
96. The French Eagles on the Wolga.
97. The Grand Sanhedrim.
*98. Canal of the Ourcq.
99. The Princess Elisa.
*100. Retreat of the Army.
101. The Monument of Mount Cenis.

*102. Battle of Lützen.
*103. Battle of Würtchen.
104. The Empress Maria Louisa.
105. The Princess Elisa.
106. The Princess Pauline.
107. The Princess Caroline.
108. The Princess Hortense.
109. The Departure.
110. Battle of Champaubert.
*111. Battle of Montereau.
*112. February, 1814.
113. Adverse Fortune.
114. The Abdication.
115. The Imperial Guard.
*116. Sojourn in the Island of Elba.
*117. The Return.
118. The Champ de Mai.
119. Assembly of the Champ de Mai.
120. Battle of Mont Saint Jean.
121. Napoleon gives his Son to France.
*122. Battle of Millesimo.
123. Battle of Castiglione.
*124. The Reduction of Mantua.
*125. The Passage of the Tagliamento.
126. Treaty of Campo Formio.
127. Column of the Departments.
128. National Column.
129. Quai Desaix.
130. Honours bestowed on Turenne.
131. Entertainment given by the City of Paris.
132. Re-establishment of Public Worship.
133. Deputation of the Mayors of Paris to Schœnbrunn.
134. Funeral Pomp of the Duke of Montebello.
135. Baptism of the King of Rome.
136. Foundation of the School of Arts at Rome.
137. Hannibal and Napoleon.

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Note.—After the description of No. 120 is written:—"Here ends the "collection of medals proposed and accepted by the Government: the following "have been ordered by constituted bodies and individuals, for the continuation "of the history of the hero." Page 154.

## MEDALS EXHIBITED AT THE READING OF THE PAPER, NOT MENTIONED IN THE FOREGOING LIST, BUT BELONGING TO THE SET OF "NAPOLEON MEDALS."

The Four Emperors (Napoleon and Charlemagne and Vitikind and and Frédéric).

Visit of the King and Queen of Westphalia to Paris.

Canal from Mons to Conda.

Visit of the King of Prussia to Paris.

Visit of the Emperor of Austria to Paris.

Visit of the Emperor of Russia to Paris.

# GEOGRAPHICAL NOTES OF EXPEDITIONS IN CENTRAL AFRICA, BY THREE DUTCH LADIES.

*By John A. Tinne, Esq., F.R.G.S.*

(Read 12th May, 1864.)

In the month of July, 1861, the three Dutch ladies, my relations, whose adventures I am about to relate, left their home at the Hague and arrived at Alexandria in August, to commence their third journey in Egypt—having previously visited it in 1856 and 1858—and to proceed through it to other countries adjacent to the Nile.

They wintered in the outskirts of Cairo, at a charming country seat, a pretty little palace of white marble, surrounded with gardens, full of roses, jessamine and other sweet-scented flowers in full bloom. Their time was fully occupied in making preparations and laying in stores for their expedition.*

Quitting their pretty villa with regret, they embarked on the 9th of January, 1862. They were obliged to hire three boats. No. 1 contained themselves, four European servants, a Syrian cook with two assistants, five dogs, the necessary articles of toilet for the ladies, canteens, guns, including an elephant-rifle and several fowling-pieces, ammunition, provisions for a year and, as it was impossible in those parts to procure change, £800 worth of small copper

* They made the acquaintance at Cairo of Dr. Krapf, a German Protestant Missionary, an agreeable old man, who had twice before travelled in Abyssinia, and for which he was again on the point of starting. At one time they felt inclined to accede to his proposition and spend the rainy season at Gondar, the capital of that country, but subsequent circumstances induced them to decide otherwise.

coin—a load of itself for ten camels. No. 2 carried camels, a horse and donkey, with their grooms, a janissary and a Nubian huntsman, four donkey-saddles, ropes and other harness, panniers, a palanquin, saddle bags, six tents, iron bedsteads and bedding and casks for carrying water across the desert. No. 3 contained thirty-two trunks and packages, with furniture, books, engravings &c. &c.

We will not refer to their travels over beaten ground, already often described, but, passing by Assouan, where the first Cataract occurs, and all the usual places of resort, we commence with their leaving Korosko, where they parted with their boats, or, to use their own words, "left the Nile, Tourists "and Civilization," and began their journey across the Nubian Desert. Between the last-named place and Abu-Hammed the river makes a considerable bend, and the navigation is difficult. The distance between these two places is about 300 geographical miles, but by water, following the sinuosities of the river, it is more than double that distance. Since, however, every convenience for encampment and all provisions were to be conveyed overland, the retinue was rather formidable. It consisted, in addition to those before mentioned, of an Arab chief, six guides and twenty-five camel-drivers. There were camels for the baggage and provisions and dromedaries for people to ride, 102 in number, besides two milch camels to provide milk in the desert. The camels conveyed chickens in baskets and provisions of every sort—fruit, eggs, potatoes, tea, coffee, flour, wine, beer, brandy: there were also sheep.

They left Korosko on the 26th of February, and reached Abu-Hammed in fifteen days, during two of which they rested in very romantic valleys. They did not find it the horrible desert they expected, but interspersed with rocks and hills, valleys and plains, with many varieties of trees and plants. The camels &c. had herbs to eat every night;

they found water in the clefts of the rocks enough to to replenish their barrels; and the camels could often obtain drink. The usual time for crossing the desert is eight or nine days; but the ladies did not feel inclined to travel more than seven or eight hours a-day, so that almost double the time was occupied in the journey.* Above Abu-Hammed they rejoined the river, which, however, is not easily navigable between that place and Berber—the stream being rapid; and one of the Cataracts (the fifth) is situated about 30 or 40 miles below Berber.

One of the ladies was so fatigued with the land journey, that they procured a little boat of the country—which is described as being very much like an old-fashioned piano case—with six boatmen, having paddles like wooden spoons with very long handles; but on the first day, when the rest of the party had travelled some hours by land and pitched their tents, no boat came. They lighted fires by the river side and sent men back by the banks, but no tidings were obtained till the next day, when it was ascertained that the men at sunset were so tired that they had stopped at a village on the river-bank for the night. They found the villagers very hospitable, and rejoined their party at nine o'clock the next morning. After this adventure the servants would not go in the boats again, and so proceeded by land towards Berber, following the course of the river. The ladies, however, were so pleased with the water excursion, that they reverted to it on the two following days; and thus the journey of four days was prolonged to eight. At the end of that period

* They mention their paying a visit, at Gagee, near Abu-Hammed, to the tomb of Andrew Melly, a merchant of Liverpool, who, with his wife, their two sons and daughter, travelled as far as Khartûm, in the Soudan, in 1851. He was seized with fever on the return journey and, after five days' illness, died in his tent near this spot. The erection of the monument, of white marble (the inscription being in gold), was entrusted by his family to Mr. Consul Petherick, who was aided in the pious task by the Governor, Latif Pasha; and it was gratifying to observe that it was in excellent preservation, and treated with great respect by the Arabs and other inhabitants of the country.

they approached Berber, where they were received by thirty chiefs, who came to meet them two hours' journey from the town. They were mounted on camels and accompanied them to the entrance of the town, where the Governor stood to welcome them and offered them his garden to encamp in, which they describe as a sort of African Paradise. The heat was, however, intense—the thermometer standing at 120. They there took leave of their camels and drivers. The Arabs who had accompanied them appeared very grateful for the presents given to them and for the kindness with which they had been treated during the journey; and the ladies describe them as a very nice people. They had not the least trouble with them. They were very handsome men — not black, but bronze coloured, and most graceful figures.

During the whole of this journey, whenever they passed through a village they received the greatest hospitality. The women came out to invite them to repose, and brought them milk and dates. There were some very graceful young women, who danced before them to amuse them. They all seemed pleased and happy to see them. After remaining a short time at Berber, they engaged three boats, in which they proceeded up the Nile to Khartüm, the capital of the Soudan. The Atbara, or Black River (the Astaboras of the ancients), falls into the Nile about twenty miles above Berber. It rises in Abyssinia and brings down the black mud which enriches the plains of lower Egypt. Passing the sixth Cataract, about eighty miles below Khartüm, they describe the river as being neither interesting nor pretty.

Khartüm is situated on marshy ground on the Blue Nile, near the junction of that river with the White Nile. The town itself is but a collection of ugly mud huts and houses. The population amounts, notwithstanding, to about 40,000. Khartüm is the residence of Consuls of several nations, including, till recently, one of Great Britain, namely, Mr. Petherick,

who was absent in search of Captain Speke during the visit of the ladies. The ladies considered the Blue Nile to be the reverse of a pretty river. They remained on its southern bank till May, encamped in a pleasant garden; but, finding that when the rains set in this would be a very disagreeable residence, they engaged a steamer belonging to one of the Viceroy's relatives, Prince Halim, formerly governor of the Soudan, in which with their boats they proceeded up the White Nile in search of a more suitable residence during the wet season. Their party, thirty-eight in number, consisted of the three ladies, two male and two female European and other servants, a Syrian cook and two assistants, an interpreter, a Janissary, two hunters, a Turkish officer and ten soldiers well armed, a mason and carpenter, the crews, an engineer and stokers;—a horse, donkeys, mules, &c. The interpreter, who acted as captain of the steamer, and the mason were Europeans. It is stated that the price paid for an ox was 8s. 4d., for a sheep 4s. 2d., chickens 6d. a-piece, and so on. The feeding of the party cost £16 a month only. That was moderate enough; but the hire of the boats and camels and the cost of all stores procurable from Europe were dreadfully high.

They were delighted with this part of the White Nile: it was different from the Nile in Egypt. They compare it to a richly ornamented water, like Virginia Water, near Windsor —the banks being finely wooded with the Soonud* or gum tree, as large as oaks, tamarind trees and various beautiful shrubs—full of the prettiest blue monkeys, playing in the branches—the air full of love-birds and the river abounding with hippopotami, crocodiles and water-flowers. Amongst the latter were some like the large Victoria lily; and at night the river was sparkling with fire-flies covering the lilies.

But there are drawbacks. The shameful slave-trade, though forbidden by the Viceroy, is going on as actively as ever. The

* Pronounced "Soont."

ladies stopped one day at a place where several boatfuls of these unfortunate creatures were also disembarked. They looked so miserable that the youngest lady gave orders to have two oxen killed to give them a treat, and she went to see that each got a portion, when a woman, having a little baby, came to kiss her hand and told her that she and one child were owned by one master, and a little boy, five years of age, with her old mother, was in another troop. She entreated to be with them as long as they remained in that place. Of course the favour was asked and obtained; and the meeting touched the young lady so much, that she redeemed and set free the whole family. The slave merchant added to the lot two other old women, starving of hunger,—no doubt eager to be relieved of the incumbrance.

The slave trade makes travelling on the river dangerous. The Negroes call all white people Turks; but the steamer having never traded in slaves, they were not irritated against the party on board of her; and in two or three instances the poor people approached near and enquired if it were true that the young lady was a daughter of the Sultan, as she rode a horse, and if she had come to help and comfort them. Some ventured on board the steamer—saying, when they saw the interpreter, "he would do them no harm, if we "could do them no good;" and they enjoyed, without fear, a cup of coffee and sugar. Money does not pass among them. For taking a ride on a bull one day, the charge was a muslin turban. A hundred dates and nine onions were paid for a piece of cotton stuff, the manufacture of the country. If a boy went a message, he got a handful of maize. Beads were out of fashion: although the ladies had large boxfuls, very few were disposed of.

In passing up the White Nile they called at two or three villages, but none pleased them—there being no trees nor shade of any sort. At length they came to the Abbas or

Soonud Islands. With these they were better pleased, but they found that when the river rose, these islands would be under water, so they proceeded beyond them and came to the foot of a small chain of romantic hills on the East bank, too high to be reached by the inundations and covered with trees. The soil was sandy : in short, this locality presented all the qualifications which the ladies thought necessary in establishing themselves during the four wet months. But none of their people would stay there with them. They were in dread of lions, tigers and elephants, none of which visit this locality, because they are afraid of the hippopotami and crocodiles, which are numerous. The ladies state that they had seen seen twenty or thirty hippopotami about the river, but they are quite harmless ; and with regard to the crocodiles, the sailors and people of the country are not afraid of them : besides, they always keep in or very near the water. The name of this mountain is Djebel (or Mount) Hemaya ; when there are two mountains they are called Djebalein ; if more than two, Djebal. Thus the hills in this locality are called Djebalein Dinka, being situated in the country of the Dinka tribe.

It was thought desirable that one of the ladies should return to Khartüm in the steamer, to engage her for a longer period—the other two ladies, with the boats and the principal part of the retinue, remaining meanwhile at Djebel Hemaya. Although the voyage had occupied five days in going up against wind and stream to where the little camp was pitched, it required only thirty hours for returning. At Khartüm it was necessary to get the steamer repaired ; this occupied a month, owing to the dilatory and harassing way of working. The French Consul was most attentive and kind and gave the lady all the assistance in his power, for which she expresses her great obligation. There were three English people in Khartüm whilst she remained on this visit : one of these was Mr. Baker, who had just arrived from Abys-

sinia, and who, proceeding up the White Nile in November, was the first European to fall in with Speke and Grant at Gondokoro in the February following. On the 17th of June, having completed all her arrangements, the lady left Khartüm, with forty additional soldiers, for Djebel Hemaya, where she arrived on the 21st and found the whole party assembled on the river side to welcome her with firing of guns and exclamations of joy. All the people, who had been ill, were quite well again, except the cook, who was sent back to Cairo. Another had been brought from Khartüm, as the first had already previously complained of illness.

Several little incidents had occurred during their residence at Djebel Hemaya. One morning the youngest lady was sitting reading on some rocks near her tent, when, finding herself thirsty, she went towards a stream for water. One of her dogs barked towards a rock close to where she had been sitting. She approached cautiously and found behind it a six-months-old panther. Without moving, she called to her assistance the soldiers and servants, and they succeeded in catching it alive. She put on him a collar of one of her large dogs and he was placed in a cage, where he appeared to do well. On the same day she nearly succeeded in securing a porcupine. They also killed and stuffed a large crocodile and trapped alive a beautiful little musk cat, but it afterwards made its escape. They caught also a very beautiful large monkey, with long black and white hair, but it died and they preserved its skin. The ladies resided partly in tents on shore and partly on board the steamer. The seriff, or four months storm and rain, was very slight that year; sometimes for two or three days together it was quite fine; sometimes a shower for an hour or two, with or without thunder, and then it was all over. There were times, however, when the thunder and lightning were most awful.

Soon after the arrival of the steamer the ladies broke up their

encampment at Mount Hemaya and, on the 7th of July, proceeded up the river. The steamer was heavily laden and had in tow two heavily laden boats; consequently their progress against the stream was slow. The river between Mount Hemaya and Bahr el Ghazal is not at all pretty. The banks are a dead flat, for the most part covered with high rushes, and, being at certain seasons inundated for two or three miles from the river, there is a morass on either side, where no beast can come.

Their first stoppage, except for wood for the steamer, was at Kaka, a village belonging to an Arab chief, called Mahomet Cher, who had contrived to conquer the most powerful of the neighbouring black tribes and thus make himself master of this part of the Soudan. When his money failed him, he destroyed the surrounding villages, killed the men, sold the women and children as slaves and stole their flocks. This man lived in great state and rode a horse with a silver-covered saddle, and always had a drum beaten when he either entered or left his house. When they stopped at his village he was a little afraid, seeing that they had Turkish soldiers on board the vessels. He received the ladies with royal honours; he sent them sheep, oxen, fruit, vegetables, dancing women, antiquities—in short, he offered them anything that he possessed. He believed that the youngest lady was the favourite daughter of the Sultan, and offered to proclaim her Queen of the Soudan! When they were about to proceed, he advised them not to go further up the Nile, stating that the Shillüks—a people he was at war with—were so angry with every body coming from Khartüm that they burnt all their boats. They remained about a week at Kaka and then proceeded up the river.

Notwithstanding the caution given them by their host at Kaka, they were obliged to stop at the village of the Shillüks for wood as fuel. The sailors, after what they had heard, were afraid to go on shore. The youngest lady, however, with the

interpreter landed, and the officer with ten soldiers, armed, went to take care of them. Here the news had already arrived that the Sultan's daughter was coming up the river and they were well received. The interpreter had been there several times and was known to them, and they became quite sociable. They were, however, disappointed at the refusal of the ladies to help them to conquer the Arab chief, Mahomet Cher. The Scheik of the village came on board with several of his men—and they also offered to make the young lady Queen, if she would assist them in their war. They brought with them sheep and oxen as presents. The ladies considered these people much to be pitied. They are alike ill-treated by Arabs and Europeans, both of whom entice them on board their boats, and then carry them off as slaves.

From this village they proceeded up the river to the confluence of the Sobat, a large river that runs into the Nile on its eastern bank. The ladies determined to steam up this river as far as it was navigable, which voyage, including their return, occupied a week or ten days. They found it to be more interesting than that part of the White Nile they had lately passed, but not equal to that river below Mount Hemaya. They saw ostriches and a great number of giraffes, but not near enough to shoot any of them. The giraffes are very good eating. They saw elephants at a distance and the marks of their feet on the banks; likewise buffaloes, which are here considered the most dangerous animals to meet with. There were also gazelles, but all at a great distance. They partook of part of an immense elephant, given them by the hunter who had killed it, and they considered it very nice. They had not the luck to kill any hippopotami, which are also considered to be very good eating. Most probably the steamer frightened these creatures away. The fish was delicious, but difficult to catch.

After this excursion on the Sobat, they continued up the

Nile and arrived at Bahr el Ghazal, which is a large and sluggish stream, flowing from the west and passing into the small lake No. The White Nile here takes a bend, nearly at right angles southward, and some distance higher up it again becomes beautiful and interesting. Every now and then the flora on the banks changes. There were forest trees of great beauty—the mimosa, differing in flower but not in leaf, the tamarind tree, covered with most beautiful creeping plants, the papyrus, and a bush-like tree, with large yellow flowers, called Ambadsh (*Anemone mirabilis*), also the poison tree (*Euphorbia antiquorum*) which is almost leafless, except at the tip of the branches, and with small scarlet flowers growing round the branches, like those of the cactus. The natives break off a branch, when a milky juice oozes forth into which they dip their arrows, and the wounds inflicted by these are said to be mortal. The Arabs call the tree M'toopa. The flowers on the banks were so rich in colour and variety as to make the eyes ache to see them.

The windings of the White Nile are very circuitous above Lake No and the currents very strong, rendering the navigation dangerous. A sad accident happened at one of the rapids. The steamer failed to pull up the two heavily laden boats, so they were towed up by the sailors along the banks. They were all in the water, when the tow rope broke and the boats were floating down the stream. The janissary, Osman Aga, a strong Turk, jumped into the river, to swim with a rope to the bank, when in an instant he sank as if dead. It is supposed he had been seized with apoplexy. His body was recovered and every possible means were tried to restore animation, but in vain; and he was buried with all the Moslem honours and ceremony they could manage. He was wrapped in nineteen yards of calico, washed with a new piece of soap, and perfumes were burnt beneath his body. All the clothes he had died in were thrown into the water; and the

crews followed the corpse, laid in a new mat, to the grave, which had been dug under a large sycamore tree, on which an inscription was cut, marking the spot.

On the 4th of September they arrived at another halting place, St. Croix, a station of Austrian Roman Catholic missionaries—a very interesting establishment. They occupied thirteen huts, of similar form to those of the people of the country. One was used as a chapel, another as a messroom, others as dormitories, stores, a stable &c. The missionaries had been mostly Tyrolese. The ladies attended mass, which was quite respectably performed. The missionaries had fine voices and chanted the mass. They spoke Italian and Arabic.*

From this place the young lady went for a few days to explore the interior, and was delighted with her trip. She had with her her waiting maid, the interpreter, one of the missionaries, fourteen porters to carry them, and nine boys and girls to carry the luggage. They passed through some fine forests and very clean and pretty villages—the houses having flourishing gardens attached to them. The inhabitants were very hospitable; but she was obliged to sleep in the open air, on account of the cottages being full of smoke. This excursion occupied eight days.

They stayed at St. Croix till the 15th of September. The appearance of the river still improved as they advanced towards Gondokoro—there being fine forests on the banks and at one point the remains of what had been establishments and gardens. One had belonged to a Mr. Warnier. He was a great hunter, but was killed by a buffalo. They also stopped

* The establishment has since been abandoned, on account of the unhealthiness of the site and the sickness and mortality which had prevailed among the missionaries, who, out of a number of thirty persons originally forming the mission, were reduced to a residue of three. One was a strong fellow, who had stood his ground for seven years; but they were at last dismayed and left in the steamer with the ladies, on their return from Gondokoro to Khartûm, so far on their way homewards.

at a village belonging to a tribe called Chers—a most interesting people. Here all traffic was purely barter. The nearest approach to money is large blue beads;—spades, thread, salt, soap and waistcoats are also used as articles of barter. There is an establishment here belonging to a Circassian merchant. This place the ladies considered the most beautiful they had yet visited. The forests were lovely; and they had some idea, if they did not like Gondokoro, of returning there and building a residence, while the steamer was going down to Khartüm for supplies.

On the 30th of September they arrived at Gondokoro. As sailing boats do not usually make their appearance there till January, it caused a great sensation amongst the inhabitants to be visited by ladies from Khartüm, and, at that period, by three boatfuls of people. The ladies made several excursions: one was to the mountain Belenia, about twenty miles south-east of Gondokoro and four hours' ride. The road to it was through a rich plain, covered with large trees like an English park, and with thousands of herds of cattle and flocks of sheep and goats, browsing and pasturing over its surface, belonging to the villagers of the Bari tribe, a fine sturdy race of blacks, warlike and easily offended. So long as their maize and durra* last, they sing and dance night and day. Each village in turn has a feast. The population is estimated at 40,000 in number; and as they were friendly with the establishment at Gondokoro, the ladies went and returned in safety. These people speak Arabic and are very intelligent.

The ladies had been informed that the river was not navigable above Gondokoro, but they were not satisfied without seeing for themselves. They accordingly succeeded in steaming upwards for five hours, where they saw at a distance another mountainous range—probably the Kuku

* *Sorghum Vulgare*, or the great millet; or by the Arabs, M'tama. The inhabitants of this part of Africa depend upon it both for their beer and their stirabout, and also use it in aiding the fermentation of their plantain wine.

range of hills, on the west bank of the river. They seemed to rise abruptly from a sandy or watery plain, and did not appear in the distance to be either lofty or striking—nothing like a European chain of mountains. Beyond this they were unable to proceed, on account of the number of stones that impeded the navigation.* They heard that one of these mountains was remarkable for having an earthquake yearly. They did not land anywhere, but returned to Gondokoro. The reports they received of the disturbed state of the Negroes, arising from the lawless marauding and cruel atrocities perpetrated by a Maltese, named De Bono or Latif, and his nephew, precluded their farther advance by land,—otherwise we might have heard of these ladies having been the guests (not, most probably, of their own free will), along with Captains Speke and Grant, of King Mtesa or of King Kamrasi, in whose territories those travellers sojourned from January to November, 1862.†

Severe sickness, however, obliged them to return to Khartüm—two of the three ladies and nearly all the men of the three boats having been attacked by fever and ague, brought on by the unhealthy climate of Gondokoro. The young lady suffered also from exposure to the sun and was more seriously affected than the others. Quinine is the only remedy; but in her case it did not prevent returns of fever at intervals of two or three hours, and it then again lasted with great force, attended with delirium, for twelve or fourteen hours. After a week's duration she partially recovered; and the whole party re-embarked on the 22nd of October and arrived

* The people of the country ridicule the idea of one source of the Nile. At Gondokoro there is rain every day for six or eight months, not constant, but heavy showers; so that there is not, they say, "any one source of this river;—"a hundred tributaries flow into the Nile above the Sobat." I am informed by a gentleman long resident in Egypt that it is observed that the water changes colour at various periods of the rise of the Nile. This appears to indicate that several branches, flowing through soils varying in colour and proceeding from different quarters, supply the main stream in succession.

† See Speke's Journal, pp. 266 to 558.

at Khartüm on the 20th of November, 1862, determined to make a fresh start as soon as the invalids were recovered.

It may here be stated that steaming up the Nile to Gondokoro (exclusive of stoppages and detours) occupied 360 hours, but returning to Khartüm, 170 hours.

Except for the illness that had prevailed, they liked Gondokoro very much. There was a beautiful terrace, belonging to the house the missionaries had built and deserted on account of its unhealthy site, planted with citron and tamarind trees, which were loaded at this time with fine and ripe fruit.

During a stay at Khartüm of two months and a half (from November, 1862, to February, 1863) preparations for another expedition of a far more formidable and important character made slow and tedious progress. They never saw such apathetic people. They were employed repairing and refitting the boats with sails and tackle, obtaining new tents, stores and supplies of all sorts. Nothing could be found further on, and everything had to be paid for beforehand; but the worst is that there is a scarcity of small metallic currency. Merchants bring wine, beer, brandy, groceries, cotton and silk manufactures, and are paid in ivory, gum and senna. The ladies, who had nothing of this sort to give in exchange for what they wanted, were obliged to pay for their cash 5 per cent. per month. They engaged fifty additional soldiers, bought guns and ammunition for them, and every day there seemed something new to order or to ask for.

However, the health of the party that had been at Gondokoro was entirely restored during their prolonged stay, and all were now in excellent spirits. They had found the weather too cool sometimes, even rather stormy at intervals, but agreeable and bracing—the wind blowing from the north and the sky bright and blue.

One of the three ladies determined on remaining at Khartüm. The Baron d'Ablaing (a Dutch gentleman) and Baron Theodore von Heuglin and Dr. Steudner (Germans) requested permission to join the expedition, which was gladly acceded to. Von Heuglin and Steudner are well known African travellers and naturalists: the former an ornithologist, the latter a botanist and also a medical man. Both drew beautifully and were able to take astronomical and geodesical observations. So that, as remarked by one of my fair correspondents, "we hope to make a more scientific, if not a more "agreeable, journey than the last;" and thus in many respects they afforded each other mutual advantage and assistance.

This expedition had for its object to ascend the western tributary of the Nile, the Bahr el Ghazal, explore the several streams flowing into that river, and so onwards by land to the south-westward, towards the highlands of central Africa and the country of the Nyam-Nams, from which direction it is asserted by many geographers, that, at some seasons of the year, the largest supply of water is poured into the basin of the Nile.

It is generally supposed that Speke and Grant have solved the great geographical problem which has occupied the attention of the scientific world for so many centuries, the discovery of the sources of the Nile; but to many who have investigated the matter more closely, this appears by no means certain, and, as the *Westminster Review* remarks, the words of the poet,

> "Arcanum natura caput non prodidit ulli,
> "Nec licuit populis parvum te, Nile, videre,"

have not yet lost their force.

Nearly a century ago it was believed that Bruce had solved the same problem, when he ascended to the source of the Bahr el Azrek, or Blue Nile. This, however, has for years been proved to be a mistake. The Blue Nile is but one of

the tributary branches that flow into the Nile on its right or eastern bank. For about 1300 geographical miles from the Mediterranean, the Nile has not a single tributary; then the Atbara, or Black River, flows into it on its right bank; next the Azrek, or Blue River, the Sobat and the Giraffe on the same bank; and it is fully 2,000 miles from its outlet before any stream enters it by the left bank, where we meet with the El Adda, Keilak and Schelongo; next with the Bahr el Ghazal,* which brings its sluggish length along from the westward, augmented by the Djür and other rivers, whose supply to the main stream is, according to Von Heuglin, very much underrated by geographers, so much so indeed, that it is believed by some to be the continuation of the White Nile. At the meeting of the Royal Geographical Society, on the 23rd Nov. last, at which I was present, the Earl of Donoughmore observed, "We now "know where the White Nile comes from, but we do not know "the extent of the country whose waters are drained into the "Bahr el Ghazal. It might turn out that a considerable, "possibly the larger proportion of the waters, which form the "inundation of the Nile, comes from this quarter and not from "the White Nile; and he hoped that the attention of Baron "Von Heuglin would be directed to this point."

The President, Sir Roderick Murchison, added, "I might "observe that the ladies were really on the right road to "obtain this knowledge; for, their great object was to reach "the mountainous region whence the Bahr el Ghazal flowed."

I have myself since mentioned the subject of this discussion to the ladies in my letters to them; but Baron Von Heuglin is already fully aware of its importance, as may be seen from his communications to Captain Speke and Dr. A. Petermann, which have been published many months ago, in the *Mittheilungen* of Justus Perthes, edited by Dr. Augustus Petermann,

* That is if we allow that the Bahr el Ghazal is a tributary and not the principal river.

and published at Gotha, which I recommend to your notice, as it contains original communications from and references to travellers in various parts of the world, of great interest and utility, particularly of those countries in Africa which were visited by Von Heuglin and others.

Being about to penetrate into an almost unknown country, it was arranged that Baron Von Heuglin and Dr. Steudner, acting as pioneers in fact, should precede the ladies and Baron D'Ablaing. They sailed in the first boat on the 25th January, 1863, which carried them and twenty-five other persons, their boatmen and servants, as well as a horse, two mules, eight donkeys, the scientific instruments and a large quantity of luggage, provisions and ammunition.

The ladies and Baron D'Ablaing followed on the 2nd of February with the remainder of the flotilla, consisting of the steamer, two Dahabiehs, or passenger boats, and two other sailing boats, carrying the bulk of the people, the live stock and stores. In these boats and in the steamer were about two hundred persons in all, including sixty-five soldiers, who were armed with muskets, also four camels, thirty donkeys and mules, a horse, and the stores, consisting of ammunition, articles of barter and provisions for ten months' supply.*

Von Heuglin and his party having set sail on the 25th January, a very favourable north wind brought them on the third day to El Eis Island, the most beautiful part of the White Nile. On the 31st of January, they passed Djebel Tefafan, 300 feet high, and three miles from the river; this hill is not, as hitherto supposed, of volcanic origin. On the 1st of February they reached a wretched nest of huts, Hellet† Kaka, the residence of the Viceroy's deputy; and on the 4th passed the mouth of the Sobat; on the 5th they reached

* Amongst other things may be mentioned a ton and a half of beads, eight bars of copper, 12,000 cowrie shells, pepper, salt, onions, dates &c.

† Hellet means village.

Lake No, from which point for more than 200 miles the boat had to thread its way through the Bahr el Ghazal. The river at this season of the year is very narrow in some places, almost like a canal, and is surrounded in every direction by a swampy plain, extending as far as the eye can reach. These marshes abound with gigantic reeds, and are interspersed with numerous lakes, or rather large ponds, abounding in fish. When they become connected in the rainy season they form one large lake, which the natives traverse in numerous canoes, formed of hollowed trees or bundles of reeds lashed together, on which the native sits astride, his legs dangling in the water and his hands being used as paddles. The Nuars, one of the tribes who inhabit these marshes, seem particularly qualified for dwelling in such a locality. They are from six to seven feet high. They were seen for hours at a time standing on some ant hill amongst the reeds, leaning on their lances and watching the passing boats. They cover their bodies with ashes to alleviate the smart caused by the sting of the mosquitoes, which are very numerous.

Von Heuglin and his party entered Lake Rek or the Mishra* of Rek, as it is called, on the 25th of February.

The other vessels with the ladies and their party did not arrive till the 10th of March. After embarking at Khartüm, on the 2nd of February, and at the last moment, the dahabieh appropriated to the young lady was found to be rapidly filling with water; the attention of the crew being drawn to it, they discovered that a large hole had been bored in her side, through which as she deepened with her cargo the water poured in. In a couple of hours more she would have sunk. As may be supposed this caused great dismay, and her cargo was quickly discharged. The hole having been stopped, they proceeded on their voyage; but the Governor, who had come to their assistance with a gang of workmen, as the boat

* Mishra signifies port.

belonged to the government, gave instructions to go no further than to a certain tree, called "Maka Beg," about three hours sail from Khartüm, round the point of junction of the Blue and White rivers, and to anchor there, to see if all remained safe. The leak continued as bad as before; and then, on closer enquiry, the captain was obliged to confess that he and the pilot had bored the hole to avoid going on the voyage, which they did not like. The rest of the crew were also disaffected. The damage being at last repaired, and a new captain, pilot and crew engaged, they continued their voyage again on the 5th February, but it was the 10th of March before they arrived at the Mishra of Rek.

Their progress through the Bahr el Ghazal was exceedingly slow on account of the obstacles they had to overcome, the river being full of curves and windings and covered with forests of rushes and ambadsh — the latter fringing the banks and growing into deep water, in some places completely blocking up the channel. These forests of ambadsh Von Heuglin compares to rows of well used brooms, very fragile, and constantly shooting up from the roots stems which grow to thirty feet high. The leaf is of the same shape as that of the ever recurring mimosa, with a large fragrant yellow flower. The boatmen beat it down with sticks or cut it with hatchets, and so opened a channel for the boats; but it became necessary to take off the steamer's paddles and proceed in small boats, one of which towed the steamer.

This part abounds with herds of elephants. Hundreds of them were seen strolling through the bog into which their feet sank two or three feet; and, every now and then, a hippopotamus rose suddenly from amidst the rushes to enjoy a bath in the river. A lion was shot at by Baron D'Ablaing, but was missed. Buffalo herds were seen grazing in bushy places, especially near the ant hills; but, in spite of the almost countless quantity of game of all kinds, hunting is next to

impossible, owing to the nature of the soil and the rustling of the hunters' steps amidst the reeds and rushes, which frightens the animals away, and they are soon beyond the reach of the gun. They saw several of those large and rare wading birds, *Balæniceps rex;* indeed the variety of birds, aquatic and terrestrial, astonished them. Von Heuglin states that he has collected many new species, which I understand he has sent to the Natural History Museum of Leyden in Holland. I may mention also that Mr. Petherick, till lately our consul in the Soudan, has greatly enriched the British Museum with many rare specimens of birds, as well as of quadrupeds, fish and shells.

In such bad hunting ground, where they were unable to kill any of the elephants, one of the vessels fell in with a dead one floating in the stream. This was regarded by the boatmen as a prize of the highest order, the tusks of a fine elephant being sometimes worth about £25, and in that country the most current article of barter. The sight of such a prize was therefore hailed with joyful shouts. The difficulty, however, was to extract its tusks, as there was no spot of dry land to drag it upon. They managed, however, to sever the head from its huge carcase and then to haul the former on board the steamer. It took twenty-four men a whole day and night to effect this operation, knives, swords and axes being employed for the purpose. The tusks were made a present of to the men for their exertions.

Having reached Lake Rek, the travellers had attained the extreme navigable point in this direction. On coming up to the station they found in it twenty-five trading vessels, crowded together in the utmost confusion, some waiting for cargoes of ivory to arrive from the interior, others as store ships for durra, wherewith to supply the people in the service of the traders. It took hours to thrust the newly arrived steamer and boats towards the shore, where they were tightly locked

together. They were received with all honours, being saluted from about 300 muskets, the compliment being duly answered by the expedition, the Dutch national flag floating gloriously at the mast heads of six vessels.

The so named Lake or Mishra of Rek consists of the bending of the River Ghazal so as to separate a portion of the land into the form of an island, which is about a thousand paces long and fifty broad, the surrounding stream being about thirty or forty paces wide. The island is called "Kyt" by Petherick; but on this the ladies remark, "We do not "know why he has so named it, as the natives call it the "Mishra of Rek." It is probably situated at about 8° 27′ north latitude, and 29° 48′ longitude east of Greenwich, but the longitude must only be regarded as having been approximately determined from the observations of Von Heuglin and Petherick.

The entire flotilla being at length re-assembled, it was intended to have started immediately on their land journey, but it was found impossible to procure porters to carry their baggage. It was accordingly arranged that Baron Von Heuglin and Dr. Steudner with the soldiers belonging to the ladies, and all the donkeys laden with as much baggage as they could carry, should go forward in search of a suitable site for an encampment during the four or five months of the rainy season, between the mountains Kosanga or Casinka and the Lake Rek, deposit the baggage there, engage more porters, and then return with them to headquarters. They started on the 23rd of March; but soon, besides other difficulties, the evil influences of the climate began to tell on their health, and they were both seized with severe fever; most of their people also fell sick. They crossed the river Djür on the 2nd April. It is about 300 yards wide. They arrived the same evening at the village of Wau, where they stopped, as there were favourable

prospects of obtaining the desired number of porters there, of whom they wanted about 150. Here Dr. Steudner became rapidly worse. On the 9th he fell into a sound sleep or stupor from which he never rallied, and he died quietly at noon on the 10th April. Baron Von Heuglin speaks most touchingly of the tender care with which he deposited his remains, shrouded in an Abyssinian wrapper and strewn over with leaves, in a deep grave, dug under a group of trees far enough off from the bank of the river to escape its inundations. Not until the 17th of April could Von Heuglin leave the mournful Wau and the country of the Djür to go to Bongo, in the country of the Dor. Here he succeeded in obtaining more porters, so that by the 24th of April he was able to return to the Lake Rek. As also on their first arrival at Lake Rek they ascertained that a quantity of additional stores and soldiers would be required, Baron d'Ablaing returned to Khartüm in the steamer to procure them, and he rejoined the party at the Mishra on the 11th of May. He had engaged forty soldiers, and brought more provisions and medicines. This raised the number of soldiers in the service of the ladies to upwards of a hundred; and, with the twenty-five in the service of Baron d'Ablaing, and the male servants, it made their total force amount to 150 men, capable of defending the party in case of need.

It may here be stated that at Lake Rek the ladies with their friends had attained the extreme westerly point in this direction that is yet known to geographers. Brun Rollet took the same track in 1856; Petherick, in 1858; Antonori, in 1860; and Lejean, in 1861. But none of the astronomical observations we have appear to be sufficiently exact. Although the persons before-named have penetrated in this direction, the country has been principally traversed by ivory merchants, more or less unacquainted with science. Petherick has made several journeys through the Dinka, Djür and Dor territories as far

as Mundo, a large village in the country of the Nyam-Nams, to about 3° 30′ north latitude and 28° longitude east of Greenwich, where he has established hunting stations as well as at other places. We may, therefore, conclude that every step westward or southward will be a new conquest for geography.

During the absence of Baron d'Ablaing and Baron Von Heuglin, the ladies state that they were visited by Mr. and Mrs. Petherick who, hearing they were at the Mishra, came to see them and to offer to be of use to them, which they were in many respects. From them they heard of Captains Speke and Grant having arrived at Gondokoro. The ladies say they "never saw "a more disappointed and dejected man than Mr. Petherick. "He and his wife have had dreadful ill luck. He had made "the best arrangements to meet Captain Speke, and his boats "were loaded and despatched with all sorts of good things for "his use. They set off too late from Khartüm in March, 1862, "and the wind being then adverse caused much delay and "damage to their boats, and they were consequently obliged to "abandon them and proceed by land from Abu-Kaka. This "was the end of August, 1862; and it being then the rainy "season, that plan proved equally impracticable. They were "delayed from August to February by rain, by deep morasses, "by affrays with inhospitable natives and by illness, and only "arrived at Gondokoro in February, 1863, five days after "Captain Speke, who had previously accepted Mr. Baker's pro-"visions and boat, and refused further aid from Mr. Petherick, "so that he had to retain all he had sent forward for Captain "Speke's requirements, which was fortunate for us, for we "were thus provided with wine, pale ale, tea, soap, pearl "barley, Lemann's biscuits, a gutta-percha boat, nay, we "cannot say what. It is strange to find these luxuries here, "and we enjoy them greatly.

"We hope Mrs. Petherick will publish her journal; it will "make people at home stare to see what they have suffered, "and there can be no doubt of its accuracy.

"Captain Speke fell in with Mohammed, a rascally agent "of De Bono, at Faloro, and also with Kurchid Agha, at Gon- "dokoro. From these he appears to have imbibed certain pre- "judices against Mr. Petherick. It was quite natural that "De Bono should speak ill of Mr. Petherick, as his nephew "had been arrested by him, as a British subject, for slave "trading and had been sent by him as a prisoner down to "Cairo." It was this De Bono to whom the ladies referred in an earlier part of this narrative, who had committed the atrocities among the negroes, and he is, they say, Mr. Petherick's worst enemy. Previously to Petherick having fallen in with Captain Speke, De Bono or his agents had so managed to prejudice his mind against Petherick that the latter has since become the object of persecution by the very man whom he and his excellent wife had made every sacrifice to serve. The ladies write to me that if there is any opportunity of saying a word of kindness for Mr. Petherick, they would feel really obliged to me for so doing. Khartüm, they say, "is so far off "that few are near enough to say a kind word for him at home."

Owing to the illness of some of the party, and having to wait for the return of M. von Heuglin and M. D'Ablaing, they were detained at the Mishra till the 17th May, when they finally disembarked from their boats with all their baggage, and made a start inland, but only for a short distance, in order that the porters might see what they had to carry. It was in Mr. Petherick's power to render the ladies further assistance, and to leave for them, in addition to their own large guard, his vakeel, or agent, and 130 porters, who had just brought down ivory from one of his stations.

Writing on the 1st June from the village of Abu Senoon, which they reached on the 20th May, one of the ladies says, "We did not go with a light heart, as Baron von Heuglin had "announced that he was too ill to move. Baron d'Ablaing "was obliged to stay with him, and Mr. Petherick also attended "him and gave him his medicines twice daily."

The first night after landing they had an awful storm—the first to which they had been exposed; for hitherto they had been able to sleep on the decks of their vessels, and the nights were cool and pleasant. But this storm was dreadful: everything was wet. They sat up all night, expecting to be blown away.*

The next day, the 18th, was very fine and the sun soon dried everything again; only instead of setting off at six in the morning, it was twelve at noon before they started, so that they did not go far that day—only about two hours' march. They came to a village with empty tookuls or huts; and as there was another storm brewing, they got all under shelter.

The 19th was another short day. Their own vakeel was a stupid fellow; Mr. Petherick's a plausible cheat; and the soldiers lazy rascals and thieves. Petherick's porters having no durra and nothing to eat, they had to give them two bullocks a day. This did not satisfy them: they wanted durra. The vakeel's offer, to go to his zeriba to fetch it, was agreed to. His negroes refused to go by the direct road the ladies wanted to go, and insisted on taking them a long detour by their own place.

They halted at Abu Senoon at three in the afternoon, to allow time for 100 of their porters to overtake them with a portion of the baggage. They had just settled in a large tookul when another violent storm broke over their heads, with wind, rain, hail, thunder and lightning. The tents, half put up, were blown down; and the young lady was nearly smothered in the folds of her's. The severe cold and wetting she then experienced brought on fever and ague. The soldiers also mutinied: they complained they had nothing to eat, although

* Describing the same storm in a letter I have seen, Mrs. Petherick writes—"We "are in the heart of the rainy season, and it comes down with a vengeance. The "roof of our cabin is not water-tight, and we were drenched below, in bed or out "of bed—no spot exempt. We tried the shelter of umbrellas, but they took up "too great a space; and the best protection afforded we derived from a panther "skin placed over head."

they had five bullocks a day; then they said they had not enough durra. The young lady, notwithstanding her illness, had them all brought to her presence and, severely rebuking them, made them all lay down their guns: they then came, one by one, to beg her pardon. So they arranged that as many as they could spare should go on to Ali au Mori's zeriba* and wait there; and the negroes were sent back with fifteen donkeys to get more durra and provisions from the boats.

On the 21st, 22nd and 23rd May the young lady continued the same—even worse; on the 24th, when the negroes returned with the donkeys, they were accompanied by Baron d'Ablaing, frightened at the accounts he received; on the 25th it was thought she was dying; but, by giving her wine and bark, on the morning of the 26th she was a little better—the crisis was past; on the 27th much better and improving; on the 28th the anxiety of her friends was allayed; and by the 31st May all cause of alarm was removed. It is impossible to describe the feelings of her friends during that disastrous week. The illness here alluded to and also that of Baron von Heuglin, as well as the death of poor Dr. Steudner, threw a damp on their journey which it was difficult to shake off.

Resuming the narrative—the ladies say further:—"Once "more *en route*, we shall, we trust, arrive safe and sound at "the mountain Casinka, where we shall sow our seeds and "remain till the weather is again fine and the earth dry. It "must be a beautiful country, full of game and the people "very good. . . . . We know the masters of nearly "all the zeribas on our route; and they have promised to "supply us with wine and all we want We have already sent "off three companies of porters, amounting to about 400 "men, with our baggage. They carry but little, say 40lbs. "each, and all on their heads."

On the 7th of June, they write:—"We are expecting

* "Zeriba," an establishment or enclosure.

"Von Heuglin to join us to-day; we hope he may be able "to go with us; it is so great an advantage to have a "scientific man in one's company. Although Captain Speke "has informed us that this part of Africa presents no interest, "yet a new country always has some, and it is so great a "pleasure to have a really good map.

"Afok, through which we passed, was a very pretty village, "with richly cultivated patches of durra, ground-nuts and "pumpkins, around it. We were, however, anxious to get "on and reach our final halting place, as on any day we "may expect a storm, accompanied with more or less of rain, "so that what is now solid ground becomes like the roads at "the Hague after a heavy shower, first mud and then per- "fectly impassable. We have several rivers to pass before we "come to where we hope to stay, near the Mountain Casinka. "With the assistance of the traders, we hope to get well "through the intervening part of the country. We are now "proceeding towards Ali au Mori's zeriba, where we have "sent on provisions. From there, we hope to cross to "Casinka, and from thence we are only two days' journey "from the Nyam Nams' country, our intended goal."

Accompanied by Baron von Heuglin, who was better and had been brought up from the Mishra of Rek by Baron D'Ablaing, the whole party left Abu Senoon on the 13th June.

Though still weak and subject to returns of fever, the invalids stood the journey very well. Baron D'Ablaing and Baron von Heuglin rode on mules. One of the ladies was carried in a chair, the other had an* ngerib, a sort of palanquin with an awning over it, to keep off the sun, and her mattress on it, so that she reposed very agreeably. Each lady was carried by four negroes, of whom there were eight relays. The three maid-servants rode on donkeys. The horse was disabled by an accident. The heat and damp were fatal to the

* Pronounced angerib.

poor camels; they lost the four they had and six donkeys, besides a mule. They had thirty-eight donkeys left, but these had suffered so much from climate and neglect, and had been so cruelly overburdened when allowed to be loaded at all, that they were kept for the sick or tired human beings. A hundred and ninety-two negroes were employed to carry their immediate luggage; of these people there was no reason to complain. They had already employed five hundred; not one had run away; not one had put down his burden, nor been in any way troublesome. As much could not be said for the *soldiers*, who were hired to carry guns and watch the porters. A bag of flour was stolen and five or six cut open and sewn up again: no negroes here can sew, therefore *these* could not have pilfered the flour.

On the 16th of June they crossed the river Djür, a fine wide stream even in the dry season, in some places fordable, but now swollen and rapid with the recent rains. There were little boats of the country to pass the men and baggage over, but too small for the beasts, and they were made to swim across. There were seven boatfuls of people and luggage, and it took six minutes for each party to cross. The ladies, gentlemen and maids used the gutta percha boat, bought from Mr. Petherick, which, though rather the worse for wear and a rickety concern, took them over more pleasantly than the other boats would have done, as these were only hollowed-out trees. The gutta percha boat had served their purpose twice already and they had still other rivers to pass to get to their "rainy-season" encamping ground.

During their progress to this point, very short journeys were taken. There are always villages or groups of tookuls to be found, generally four or five miles distant from each other, to stay at for the night; they halted about four o'clock in the afternoon, so that very little fatigue was experienced by the invalids. On stopping at any place

that pleased them, they sent for the Sheik or head of the village, who gave orders, and marked out their camping ground or where they were to lodge. The family and cattle were cleared out and the strangers took possession for the night. They found them always kind and willing to quit their little group of tookuls. There is one of them larger than the rest for the cows, one of less size for the goats and sheep, and the others for the family. The villages are widely spread and all round them, close up to the doors of the huts, are fields of durra, sesame, ground-nuts and pumpkins, the people looking clean and healthy. Their flocks are wonderfully large, often containing several thousands, but sheep are not used as food. The ladies at first bought as many as they liked for five copper bracelets, but after a while the negroes refused to sell any, when it was known that it was for the porters to eat. In the large tookul the elder lady with two of the maids and their dogs put up, with the baggage; the younger lady and her maid in another. All the cooking was done in another tookul, and the soldiers and negroes found some place near, where they made their fire and cooked their durra. The gentlemen went to another group of tookuls, but took their meals with the ladies. All went early to rest at night and rose at sunrise; it occupied an immense time to despatch the porters with their loads. On leaving, the next morning, they gave a present of bracelets or beads; each tribe has its preference as to the colour; hitherto, it had been green beads, and also white ones, like pigeons eggs. The Sheik had a special present, too; sometimes a pink cotton dress was given, sometimes a blue, and in this he strutted about his village as proud as a peacock.

The two first days after leaving the Mishra, it was not pretty, but for the next two or three days they saw beautiful trees, and many rich villages, which no one could call ugly, and thousands of birds of variously coloured plumage made it gay.

On the fourth day the soil was red sand with a great deal of iron; the grass growing on it was a fine light green, like a young cornfield in spring in England. The trees were magnificent and of most picturesque forms, and the cows, goats and sheep, which are the chief riches of the natives, are most abundant. The people live in beehive-looking huts, of which each family has three or four for itself and its flocks. For two or three days after the scenery was prettier still; there were such beautiful stations belonging to rich negroes or merchants, such neat houses surrounded by a high hedge of the poison plant, and such a number of cows and sheep. Then it changed, and they came to a less inhabited part of the country. Every now and then, the traces of herds of elephants and buffaloes showed that they had been recently there. It would be difficult to describe the beauty of the country they passed through during nine days' march; one day it was through low marshy ground, with hard and rather coarse grass, but full of rare flowers, some quite unknown to any of our party, and so beautiful, pretty, and sweet, that any hothouse in Europe might be proud of them. Von Heuglin not being an experienced botanist, they hurried on and did not gather many. After a while the trees were more numerous and of loftier growth, and the ladies went one whole day's journey through a wood of gardenias, as large as apple-trees, in full flower, with jasmine and sensitive plants.

There were shrubs with flowers, white, yellow and red. Afterwards, the woods became forests of high majestic trees, and such elegant and well assorted groups, that the ladies say no park in England could have finer, nor display more wonderful variety of shape and colour of leaves. They saw fruit trees, some like the orange, some like the wild plum or a sort of bullace, and numbers of others with red and black berries; also many creepers and wild grapes. There were no mosquitoes, and very few noxious insects, except the white

ant, which is a real plague as it destroys everything that touches the ground.

Up to the Djür they had been coming south-west since they left the Mishra of Rek. On the west of the river the country had much the same features as on the east bank. Immense plains with clumps of trees, creeping and flowering plants, beautiful irides, orchids, Amaryllides, aloes and cacti. In the grass was a pretty white flower, name not known, and orange and brown foxglove-shaped flowers. Ponds were occasionally met with, surrounded with trees, whose branches dipped in the water. "Oh!" (exclaims one of the ladies) "it is a lovely country and has "richly repaid all our fatigue and expense"! They did not see so many birds as they expected, owing, they supposed, to the noise caused by their caravan of three or four hundred persons. Von Heuglin had shot sixty varieties on his former visit. There were large quantities of guinea fowls, doves, pigeons, rails, black partridges and other game birds. They saw antelopes and gazelles, and the traces of elephants and buffaloes.

The expense of travelling is enormous; one is in the hands of a clique of zeriba holders, who pass you on to each other, and all cheat and overcharge alike. They consist of traders from Khartüm, who have established zeribas or stations at a distance of about five days' journey from each other. For some years past, finding that elephants were becoming scarce and ivory dear on the White Nile, they have begun to come into the countries through which the Ghazal and Djür flow. They leave their vakeel or steward at their stations with armed men the whole year round, and in November they come themselves and collect all the ivory that has been obtained for them, when they return to their vessels waiting for them at the Mishra of Rek. Their plan is to place a zeriba in some negro village, which they pretend to protect, and as there are always feuds between the different villages,

of course the village having in it the soldiers and guns has the advantage over all the others, and these in succession put themselves under the same master and acknowledge his authority. The traders make them pay a tax of durra to feed their soldiers, and they require them to carry the ivory for them to the Mishra.

Till now they had been wonderfully favoured by the weather, but there had been occasional storms, and when they came they were dreadful, which made them all the more anxious to push on. The last experienced was just after crossing the Djür, when, not having succeeded in bringing over their huts and baggage, the whole party was exposed throughout the night to the pelting of the rain, there being no shelter near. Baron D'Ablaing was ill of fever as well as most of the servants, but the health of the invalid Baron von Heuglin and of the ladies was not affected by it.

On the 21st of June they arrived at Wau, the village where poor Dr. Steudner died. Biselli, a trader of Khartüm, has a zeriba here. He resided at Bongo, further west, whither they proceeded. His reception of them was magnificent: the firing of guns was four or five times repeated, as was the case at Gondokoro and at the Mishra, but he proved afterwards most treacherous and extortionate. He came to meet them at the entrance of the village and welcomed them, took them into a large Tookul where he gave them sherbet, coffee, merissa (a drink made with honey) and to all the people, black and white, abréek, the beer of the country. They asked him to sell them corn and bullocks as everything there belonged to him, but he told them that for *twenty-four hours* they were his guests, and treated them most liberally during that period, giving two repasts a day, of broth with bread and meat, to their ninety soldiers and twelve servants and as much durra as they could eat, besides fodder for the beasts. They felt ashamed to receive such hospitality, but it was understood to

be the custom of the country. He promised them soldiers also, as they were so dissatisfied with those whom they had got from Ali au Mori, and who had pilfered their flour.

Next day, Biselli being asked to lease to them a small zeriba, consisting of five tookuls, for the purpose of storing their baggage, he first agreed to take thirty thalers for a week, and then he asked two hundred. That was refused. They had everything packed up to leave him, when he came down to forty and they took possession. Then the price of his durra was ridiculous; an ardeb of durra at Khartüm costs fifteen piastres, and here, where it grows, he asked more than a hundred. The whole country is covered with durra, but he would not allow his people to sell them any. He turned out all their soldiers, and when a shed was built for them at the ladies' expense he asked rent for it. The man seemed to have lost his senses; but he did not begin the overcharging. Ali au Mori first imposed upon them. He made a contract with them for porters, and not knowing how many they would require, they agreed to give him six thalers a-head for ten days' journey. This did not seem excessive for only eighty men, but when it came to four hundred and eighty it became too serious to be borne.

They conclude their last letter rather philosophically—"In fine, we are in for it; we would never advise any "body to come here without a good vakeel and plenty of "money! but then it is a beautiful journey. How I wish "you were here to enjoy all this with us!"

Letters of the 1st, 5th, 8th and 9th of July, 1863, complain of the same treatment from Biselli. Baron D'Ablaing and Baron von Heuglin being unfortunately ill, were unable to be of much service to them. They ordered the steamer, whose charter had expired in June, to be re-engaged and sent up with provisions and eighty more soldiers, as Biselli was corrupting their men and had already enticed

thirty away from them. As he was a subject of the Viceroy and his family resided at Khartüm, representations had been made to the Egyptian government regarding his conduct, which, it was hoped, would be successful. His property and family being at Khartüm afforded a guarantee that he would not dare to do any real harm beyond driving hard bargains for his durra.

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*October*, 1864.—A few weeks after the preceding paper was read, most disastrous and melancholy intelligence was received communicating the death of Madame T. on the 20th of July, 1863, followed by that of the two European maid-servants, one on the 20th of August, 1863, and the other on the 22nd of January, 1864.

Mademoiselle T. resided after her mother's death with her female attendants at a place marked in the map, "Etablisse-"ment A.T." at which they had passed a pleasant day together on the 10th of July, rambling in the surrounding woods and making plans for the future. The next day Madame T. was taken ill, and becoming gradually worse died on the 20th. The gentlemen with the majority of the party continued to reside at Biselli's establishment, occasionally making short excursions in the neighbouring country.

Owing to these sad events and to the continued persecution and vexatious obstacles thrown in the way of the expedition by Biselli, as well as by his neighbour, another trader, Ali-au-Mori, and their vakeels or stewards acting under their orders, further progress to the Kosanga mountain, or to any other higher and healthier region, was prevented. The party was unable to remove from these men's control during six or seven months of the rainy season, lasting from July, 1863, to January, 1864, till, on the arrival of some additional soldiers and stores of provisions,* which they had contrived to find

* These were anxiously and affectionately provided and despatched in November, 1863, by Mademoiselle A. Van Capellen, who had remained at Khartüm when her sister and niece, Madame and Mademoiselle Tinne, set off on their second expedition. I lament to record the death of this lady also, at Khartüm, on the 20th of May, 1864.

means of sending for to Khartüm, they retraced their steps to their boats at the Mishra of Rek and embarked on their return voyage to Khartüm, where Mademoiselle T. and Barons D'Ablaing and von Heuglin arrived on the 29th March, 1864, the former with her female attendants in one dahabieh and the two gentlemen with the remainder of the expedition in two other boats.

The harassing difficulties and lonely situation of my young relative and the suspense and distress of mind endured by her during that weary and dismal period, which she has herself described to me most feelingly in her letters, can be readily understood; but I shall be excused from dwelling on so painful and tender a subject.

Biselli and Ali-au-Mori not only themselves refused to supply provisions and porters, but did all in their power to prevent the kindly and well-disposed natives, who were always quiet and inoffensive, from assisting the travellers in any way. There was the utmost difficulty in procuring corn or meat, and the game of the country, which was sometimes obtained, was very poor in quality and insufficient for the support of so large a retinue of people. It would appear that Biselli, although, in the first instance, hospitable and generous, was no doubt jealous, as well as Ali-au-Mori and others of the same base class, of the intrusion of strangers into their usurped domains, and dreaded the consequent exposure of their nefarious practices and the cruel treatment of the poor natives, whom they seize and compel to work for them or sell as slaves.

I sent to the *Times* a statement of the case, and also a copy of an unfinished letter found amongst the late Captain Speke's papers, addressed to me, which have been published in the numbers of that journal of the 12th of September and 5th of October, 1864. I refer to these documents, as giving fuller details of the disgraceful transactions of the Soudan traders, and also of the conduct of the governor of that

province, Moussa Pasha, who disappointed the expectation of affording any redress.* It is to be hoped that the representations, which have since been made on the subject to the Viceroy of Egypt, may be more successful, and that at least future travellers, who may direct their attention to the unexplored or imperfectly known lands of Equatorial Africa, may find their path smoothed and reap some benefit, resulting from the visit of the "Dutch Ladies' Expedition."

I have seen portions of the "Notes" of Baron von Heuglin, in which he states that Mademoiselle T. begged that he would not be deterred from continuing his journey in consequence of the misfortunes that had befallen her, and had offered him for this object whatever he could use of her stock of beads, ammunition, copper, stores, provisions &c., as well as all the soldiers she could spare; but, from the impossibility of hiring porters and other heavy expenses connected with such an undertaking, he declined her liberal proposal and preferred to return to Khartüm.

The results of this expedition will be found more fully and scientifically treated in the "Mittheilungen" of Dr. A. Petermann of Gotha, from notes and maps furnished by Baron von Heuglin, which, taken in connection with the information recently afforded by the travels of Speke, Petherick and all others, cannot fail to be welcome to and valued by the geographical world.

My obligations are especially due to our esteemed associate Mr. J. T. Towson, for the assistance he has rendered me in the compilation of the accompanying maps. The map of the countries between the Ghazal and the Dembo or Kozanga rivers is entirely new. It is reduced from a copy prepared by Von Heuglin and sent to me by Mademoiselle T. for presentation to the Royal Geographical Society of London, who, on the occasion of my reading the preceding paper, kindly lent me some of their valuable maps.

* See Note p. 144.

# NOTE.

## THE DUTCH LADIES' EXPEDITION ON THE WHITE NILE.

*To the Editor of "The Times."*

SIR,—Mention of the travels of the Dutch ladies in the Soudan will be remembered by most of your readers with interest; and this fact, combined with the special notice which that part of the world is exciting just now, especially in scientific and commercial circles, must be my apology for troubling you with any remarks upon the subject. One of the ladies forming the expedition, in a letter recently received, informs me that owing to the shameful manner in which they have been treated by the merchants, the expedition has been compelled to return to Khartüm without accomplishing its intended object,—that of reaching the country of the Nyam-Nams. She complains particularly of the conduct of Biselli and Ali au Mori, two native merchants, and proprietors of zeribas, or stations, on the White Nile, and who appear to wield absolute and unquestioned despotism over large districts, and now also of the conduct of Moussa Pasha, Governor of the Soudan. As the opening up of the newly-discovered and exceedingly fertile districts of the White Nile cannot fail to be of the utmost importance to the mercantile world, this hostility on the part of the native merchants and governors is a matter of much moment; and therefore I venture to go somewhat into detail. My informant appends to her letter a copy of a complaint she had sent to M. Thibaut, the French Vice-Consul. In this document she says:—

"When we arrived at the zeriba of Biselli, in June, 1863, we were very "desirous to go beyond it as quickly as possible, in order to reach the salubrious "country of the Nyam-Nams before the rains could render the rivers impassable. "We asked them immediately to procure us porters, but day after day passed "and porters never came. For three or four days Biselli had constantly some- "thing to say again about each contract, and would not bring anything to a close. "In the end we allowed him to make the contract entirely as he understood it by "his own scribe; but at the moment of signing he said all of a sudden that he "had changed his mind, and did not wish to speak of it any more—that is, he "wished to force us to remain with him in order to sell to us, at prices that "pleased him, all that we had need of. In vain we tried to send and find porters "in other zeribas. Biselli forbade all the negreos to act as guides to our people, "or to carry our provisions, and we were obliged to give up passing the Kharif "to the Nyam-Nams. In order properly to figure our position, it must be known "that these merchants assume an absolute sovereignty over those countries which "they call their 'beliel,' and as Biselli had threatened to kill every negro who "sold us anything or helped us in any respect, we were entirely at his mercy, "obliged to pay all that he wished, and still, notwithstanding the ridiculus prices "he asked for everything—for instance, nine thalers for an ardeb of 'durra' "(corn), in a country where it can ordinarily be had for nothing, he refused "sometimes to sell us anything, and our people starving."

She then goes on to state how negroes were beaten, and in some cases shot, for attempting to relieve them; that Ali Abu Amouri, when applied to for help, refused to give it except upon terms equally outrageous with those of Biselli, and also forbade his negroes to sell or to assist them in any way. Selim also, Ali's steward, robbed them in every way possible, and encouraged his men to do so too. Biselli forbade his people when the last boats left to take charge of their letters; and it was only secretly, and on the promise of a handsome recompense, that they were able to induce a man to take them. Their people attempted to build huts to spend the rainy season in, but Biselli refused the help of his negroes, without which help they could not get materials. To this complaint of my informant were appended] two reports of similar though even more atrocious outrages which fell under the immediate notice of M. von Heuglin, a well-known scientific traveller who accompanied the expedition. He stated that a soldier of his party had bought four elephant's tusks from a native Sheik, on learning which fact the people of the merchant Ali Abu Amouri attacked the negroes, took the Sheik and several others prisoners, and killed the Sheik's wife. The captured negroes would be sold as slaves. M. Kleiniznik, another traveller, had sent them about fifteen porters from a neighbouring station, Koolanda, with corn bought from the merchant Biselli, but having arrived near Biselli's zeriba they were arrested by one of his dragomen, who forced the negroes with threats to return with their loads. They next attempted to buy corn from the tribes of the Nyam-Nams; and a Sheik was bringing them a good supply when they were met by men of Ali Abu Amouri, who put both the negroes and Heuglin's soldiers in irons, and took them to the zeriba of Ali, where the soldiers were at last released, but the negroes detained as slaves, and three of their number, who had escaped, were retaken and shot.

On their return to Khartüm complaint was at once made to Moussa Pasha, and as he was a most violent and dreaded man nobody doubted that severe measures would be immediately taken. My correspondent describes the result as follows:—

"I sent my complaint through Consul Thibaut; but the Pasha has shown as "clearly as possible, and in the rudest way, that he meant to do nothing, or as "little as possible. First, he returned the complaint after two or three days, "saying his interpreter could not translate it (though he speaks French fluently); "then he attempted to decline interfering under various pretexts, so absurd that "he himself was obliged to give them up, and is now putting off deciding any- "thing on account of the difficulty of getting at the guilty parties in the rainy "season; but that also is no reason, as he has got the steamboat."

Further still, when they were being exposed to the treatment of Biselli, a letter was sent to Moussa Pasha at Cairo by M. Thibaut, but he afterwards said that he did not receive it. However "not only did he not give the men or the letter "asked for to protect us against his subjects, but—would you believe it?—he "attempted to detain the boats that were at last setting out to our rescue, and "that for a reason most unjust in itself. Three of our boats were full, and the

"fourth was on the point of starting, when he suddenly published a law that "every soldier going up the White Nile should pay 100 piastres," and M. Thibaut had to pay for all the soldiers of the four boats on the threat that if he did not the first three boats would be stopped. "He did the same thing or nearly so to "Petherick, whose letters I have also seen, who is having a lawsuit with him "too." But this was not all; the Pasha actually tried to charge my informant with bringing slaves to Khartüm The fact was, that when up the Nile she found that some of her soldiers had formed connexions with negresses, and not wishing to separate them insisted on their being married according to the Mohammedan rites; but on her return Moussa Pasha made a great fuss, asked for explanations from the Consulate, notwithstanding which he put the people in prison, and did everything to give her the appearance of having brought slaves, and for a time such was the rumour of the town. They would have so liked to catch a European in fault, for the Government is constantly slave-trading itself, and in the town it goes on worse than ever. She also gives an account of the shocking state to which Moussa Pasha has brought the country. "By the number of "soldiers he is daily importing from Egypt (20,000 are already here) grain and "meat are nearly unprocurable. Grain is ten times its usual price, and still "rising." . . . "All the camels are seized for his soldiers, and merchandise "has been brought for several months. The simplest things fetch immense "profits, and the Soudan, once famous for its cheapness, is now dearer than "Cairo. Most of the villages which were being established along the White "Nile, and which I left flourishing, are now abandoned; the people flying from "the dreadful taxes, and Khartüm is like a desert, nothing is to be got."

Such is the position of affairs in the Soudan; but having gone to such length I will not comment further than to say that these matters are now being brought under the notice of the Egyptian Government, and we may feel assured that its present enlightened ruler, when the facts are known to him, will remedy these evils. He has always shown the utmost consideration to commerce, is striving to develope the rich resources of his country, and has ever been ready to reform abuses. The doings of Moussa Pasha and the merchants may not have come under his immediate cognizance, but I feel assured they only require to be made known to him and he will doubtless effect a remedy. I am glad to see that your Egyptian correspondent, under date August 20th and 29th, has taken this matter up. He particularly refers to the gross conduct of Moussa Pasha, and the infamous traffic in slaves by some of the inferior merchants. It is to be regretted that at such a time Great Britain should have abolished its Consulate of the Soudan.

I remain, your obedient servant,

JOHN A. TINNE.

Briarley, Aigburth, near Liverpool, Sept. 9.

*To the Editor of "The Times."*

SIR,—Referring to my letter addressing you upon the subject of the Dutch Ladies' Expedition to the White Nile, I now desire to inform you that, a few days ago, I received a note from Mr. William Speke, jun., brother of the late Captain Speke, enclosing an unfinished letter of the deceased, written, as you will observe, the day prior to his death. This letter I have obtained permission to publish. It will be interesting to your readers, no doubt, as a relic of the renowned traveller, and it is also of value as confirming so fully the statement I made with regard to the condition of the Soudan.

Captain Speke having alluded to the Soudan Consulate, I would say that I have reason to believe that the ex-British Consul was not in any way concerned in the general practices of the traders complained of.

I beg to enclose copies, and to request that you will give them publicity.

I am, your obedient servant,

JOHN A. TINNE.

Briarley, Aigburth, near Liverpool, Oct. 3, 1864.

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"Jordans, Ilminster, Somerset, Sept. 26.

"MY DEAR SIR,—This letter was found among my brother, Captain Speke's "things. It is unfinished—probably the last words he wrote, and very likely "among his last thoughts, as I had seen him lately, and he expressed himself "very anxious about Baker, having a great regard for him. I send you his "photograph, as you may like to have it. You can fully sympathise with us, as "you have also experienced so great a loss to your family.

"I am, yours truly,

"WILLIAM SPEKE, JUN.

"John Tinne, Esq., Liverpool."

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"Neston Park, Corsham, Sept. 14.

"DEAR MR. TINNE,—I have been delighted by seeing the way in which you "have been handling the Nile question in *The Times* of the 12th. The ladies' "accounts of the way they were treated by those ruffians up there is a perfect "picture, as far as it goes, of the true state of the system practised in those lands.

"There is one other reason not alluded to which must have operated to thwart "the ladies' designs—viz., the jealousy the traders are so susceptible of to any "one prying into the nature of the country they have appropriated to themselves.

"Pray do keep working this subject, for no one can do it better than yourself.

"No doubt, indeed, a consul is much wanted in the Soudan; but then he should "not be a trader, for no one can trade honestly in those regions.

"I have great fears about the fate of Baker. He ordered Petherick to place "a boat for him at Gondokoro this and last year. The boat was there, and the "men with whom Baker went into the interior must have returned to that part, "else we could not have heard of Baker's having gone to Unyoro. This being "necessarily the case, how is it that Baker did not send a line by them to "Petherick, unless some foul play can answer the question?

"For the love of those you have lost, do bring retribution on the miscreants "who occasioned it.

"There is no richer land in the world than the equatorial regions, and "nothing more of importance to the interests of Egypt, as well as our own "merchants, than that of opening up those lands to legitimate commerce."

# ON THE MORAL IDEALS OF SHAKSPEARE.

*By the Rev. H. Baar, Ph. Dr.*

(Read 14th April, 1864.)

If we wish thoroughly to know a poet, and to dive into the beauties of his genial works, we must endeavour to find out what great ideas he loved, what sacred matters he espoused, and what superior objects, human or divine, he thought worthy to be brought within the sphere of his poetical realm. That which a poet loves he represents with all the ardour of his inspirited soul; and, even if it happens that he takes hold of a subject which lies rather far from his usual themes, still he pervades this subject with all the poetic fire of his imagination. The genius of a poet does not show itself in the boldness with which he sketches the outlines of a poem, but is shown rather by the depth of the ideals which he clothes with the grand conceptions that flow from his mind. The ideals of the *dramatic* poet, however, are to be found within the large domain of *morality*. And in this respect no poet, either in ancient or modern times, has bequeathed to mankind such eminent creations of moral greatness as Shakspeare. He has of course described *vice* also, in its manifold forms and shades; but, in making *virtue* triumphant over all the dark powers of the soul, he has remained faithful in all his works to that great moral ideal which he expressed in *Hamlet*—

"What a piece of work is man! How noble in reason! How "infinite in faculties! in form and moving, how express and "admirable! in action, how like an angel! in apprehension, "how like a god! the beauty of the world! the paragon of "animals!"

Shakspeare's noble and gigantic mind could endure nothing that tended to lower or degrade human nature. "Like an

" inspired prophet, he announces the doctrine of that *blessing* " which dwells in *right*, and of that *curse* which inevitably " follows *wrong*. The truth of his piercing judgment is never " clouded by the glow of sophistry. On the contrary, that " doctrine bears in every line the stamp of magnanimity and " innate nobleness, through which he succeeds in rending to " pieces the cobweb in which common men drag along their " common-place existence. His soul bore an adamantine " character in every situation in life, whether he dwelt amidst " the mist of the world, or was stationed on the sunlit heights " of fame. Everything that moved him drew from him the " divine electric spark of genius."

" Many poets have gone down into the darkness of past ages, " and the remembrance of them is all that has remained of their " former greatness and influence. But Shakspeare is an excep- " tion. He is the great poet of Futurity, not for an age, but " for all time. Coming generations and distant lands will " listen with exalted pleasure to his godlike oracles; they will " enjoy the state of happiness which he predicted—a freer and " more cheerful futurity—foreseen by his holy longings, and " by his firm belief in the triumph of good on earth."

After this introduction, I shall go, as shortly as possible, through many works of Shakspeare to show that *moral* spirit which pervades them.

Let us begin with *Romeo and Juliet*. I think it was Lessing, the great German critic and author, who, in speaking of this work, asserted that love itself assisted Shakspeare in producing it. Every one must agree with the opinion of this eminent scholar; for the feelings of love awakened in the hearts of the youthful lovers are here so truly and powerfully represented, that they prove to be invincible against a world in arms; arousing the deepest energies of the soul, and enduring the most trying sacrifices. From its softest charm, from the first mutual glance, from the first gentle beating of

the heart, to the storm of passion which shakes the whole human being, love here unfolds to us the boundless richness of its beauty, like a holy music which gradually rises from the softest tone to the full resonance of pealing chords. The whole power of love in this tragedy is depicted with such a sterling truth and idealistic charm, that our materialistic age, which mocks at everything with which poetry invests the human heart, would do well if it could diffuse into the alliances which are daily being formed between man and woman, some of those sincere and true affections which characterise Romeo and Juliet. It was Shakspeare's great moral ideal and firm belief that domestic felicity could only be assured by that depth and power of affection through which two congenial hearts, as if by magic ties, are attracted to each other; and that therefore every attempt to base the sacredness of matrimony upon disparity of age, position, wealth, or other selfish motives, should be discouraged and denounced with all the power of moral indignation. For this purpose the great poet places himself, in matters of love, on the side of that great principle which maintains that freedom of choice should guide us in the accomplishment of our matrimonial ideals, and that no intimidation or constraint whatsoever should influence or obstruct the holy source of our affection. This idea is clearly expressed by Capulet's consent to the suit of Paris, saying:—

> But woo her, gentle Paris, get her heart;
> My will to her consent is but a part;
> An she agree, within her scope of choice
> Lies my consent and fair according voice.

When Romeo has afterwards won the heart of Juliet, and she asks him for some pledge of his constancy and fidelity, the enraptured lover, in the ecstacy of his feelings, responds to that natural appeal which is made to his heart in the following way:—

> Lady, by yonder blessed moon I swear,
> That tips with silver all these fruit tree tops—

upon which Juliet, with real womanly delicacy, answers, in words worthy to be written in letters of gold upon all loving hearts :—

> —— Do not swear at all;
> Or, if thou wilt, swear by thy gracious self,
> Which is the god of my idolatry,
> And I'll believe thee.

How these simple words contrast with the frequent occurrences of daily life, where the strength and truth of our affections are measured by the compliments we pay, by the attention we bestow, by the flatteries we express, and by the ostentatious exhibitions with which we show our affection to society and the world. Such outward demonstrations neither ennoble nor heighten much the nature of true love; they often prevent the gradual growth of this divine virtue, and seldom or never reach that ideal of perfection which Juliet speaks of, when she says :—

> My bounty (to thee) is as boundless as the sea,
> My love as deep; the more I give to thee,
> The more I have, for both are infinite.

I could cite numerous other passages to show what eminent and exalted views the great poet entertained respecting the sacred affections of our heart. But such an attempt would encroach too much upon the limited space of this paper; and, therefore, I must content myself with quoting merely a sonnet of Shakspeare, which clearly illustrates the ideas which I have endeavoured to elucidate. This sonnet begins :—

> Let me not to the marriage of true minds
> Admit impediments. Love is not love,
> Which alters when it alteration finds;
> Or bends with the remover to remove:
> O no! it is an ever fixed mark,
> That looks on tempests and is never shaken;
> It is the star to every wandering bark,
> Whose worth's unknown although his height be taken.
> Love's not Time's fool, though rosy lips and cheeks
> Within his bending sickle's compass come;
> Love alters not with his brief hours and weeks,
> But bears it out even to the edge of doom.
> If this be error, and upon me proved,
> I never writ, nor no man ever loved.

We leave the holy domains of love; and, following our poet upon other fields of his moral ideals, we enter with him into the large realms of *ambition*.

In so doing, we shall fix our attention for a few moments on the tragedy of ambition, *Macbeth*.

We think that it was the intention of the poet to give expression to the idea that *ambition*, in promoting the love of progress and development, is a precious divine feeling in the heart of man and, as such, capable of bringing to maturity the sweetest fruits on the tree of our political and social life. It is a heavenly Jacob's-ladder, on which the angels of God are ascending and descending, in order to assist us in our endeavours. But, that when ambition becomes the handmaid of our selfish plans, and we try to make use of man and the world as if they were created merely to serve us as blind instruments of our haughty aspirations, then it turns into a firebrand of wild passion, destroying with its absorbing flames the proud edifice which we have created,—

> For, 'tis a common proof,
> That lowliness is young ambition's ladder,
> Whereto the climber upward turns his face:
> But when he once attains the upmost round,
> He then unto the ladder turns his back,
> Looks in the clouds, scorning the base degrees
> By which he did ascend.—*Julius Cæsar, Act II.*

History furnishes us with numerous instances that the lives of great and eminent men have been prematurely brought to a close by ambition's consuming fire. What a mournful reflection does not the finale of life awaken in us of men like Alexander the Great, Julius Cæsar, Wallenstein and Napoleon I! Is it not as we find them, with more or less accuracy, portrayed in the words of Macbeth:—

> I have no spur
> To prick the sides of my intent, but only
> Vaulting *ambition* which o'erleaps itself,
> And falls on the other.

And how entirely this "vaulting ambition" deprives men of

all real joys of life, we learn from Macbeth's own words, when he describes the results and fruits of his unholy labours :—

> I have lived long enough : my May of life
> Is fallen into the sere, the yellow leaf:
> And that which should accompany old age,
> As honour, love, obedience, troops of friends,
> I must not look to have; but, in their stead,
> Curses, not loud, but deep, mouth-honour, breath,
> Which the poor heart would fain deny, but dare not.

It might be asked, if Shakspeare has such great moral ideals, how is it that in Lady Macbeth he has created a character so entirely at variance with all the principles of real womanhood and humanity? To this we reply, that it is the mission of the poet also to picture those dark and wicked agencies which lead the human heart to moral depravity and degradation. But in this special case, in reference to those spiritual pulsations which move the soul of Lady Macbeth, we think that she is not so bad as people take her to be. Her principal motive in urging Macbeth to perform the deeds which real womanhood abhors, consisted in her boundless love to her husband, a love which in him she thought was impaired by his far greater love of ambition. To assist him in his ambitious aims, and by these means acquire possession of his entire love, was in our opinion the chief inducement to her unnatural and cruel actions. In support of this opinion we quote the following incident. When Macbeth writes to his wife, calling her "the dearest partner of his "*greatness*," not as we should expect to hear "the dearest "partner of his affection," he informs her that the witches have greeted him with the ominous words—"All hail, "Macbeth, thou shalt be king!" Upon the receipt of this news Lady Macbeth utters the following sentences :—

> Glamis thou art, and Cawdor; and shalt be
> What thou art promised : yet do I fear thy nature;
> It is too full o' the milk of human kindness,
> To catch the nearest way: Thou wouldst be great;

Art not without ambition, but without
The illness should attend it.
. . . . . Hie thee hither,
That I may pour my spirits in thine ear:
And chastise with the valour of my tongue
All that impedes thee from the golden round.

She drives him to the committal of the crime; gracious Duncan, so mild, so kind, is slain, and Macbeth usurps, by foul means, the crown of Scotland. His wife, thinking that after having obtained his haughty desires he would entirely devote himself to her domestic felicity, is sadly disappointed by seeing that now, the fear of losing his throne not only makes him cooler and more inattentive to her, but also prompts him to steep his hands deeper and deeper into the pool of blood which he has already filled by his indomitable ambition. After she has become aware of the murder of Banquo, and of the wife and children of Macduff, and that the love which proud women like to receive from their husbands was still absent, remorse like a thunderbolt seizes her heart, and not only makes her repent the things she has done, but also enforces itself so strongly upon her mind that she loses her reason. In vindication of the truth of our remarks, we cite only two sentences expressed by Lady Macbeth when seized by this dreadful malady, which will bear out our suggestions. The one is:

The thane of Fife had a wife: where is she now?

The other:—

All the perfumes of Arabia will not sweeten this little hand. Oh!

That Lady Macbeth was not quite unsexed, but was still attached to "good" by a few redeeming features, we learn from the following passages. When she persuades her husband to murder Duncan, and he sensibly replies:—

I dare do all that may become a man;
Who dares do more is none,

she, notwithstanding, on trying to influence his passion, makes use of words which indicate faint traces of feminine feelings.

These words are :—

> I have given suck; and know
> How tender 'tis to love the babe that milks me:
> I would, while it was smiling in my face,
> Have pluck'd my nipple from his boneless gums,
> And dash'd the brains out, had I so sworn, as you
> Have done to this.

Another proof, showing that womanly feeling was not quite extinguished in Lady Macbeth, is that passage in which she confesses that she herself would have murdered their venerable guest, had he not so much resembled her father :—

> Had he not resembled
> My father as he slept, I had done't.

We have nothing more to add in explanation of our drama of ambition; we leave its thorough illustration to more practised commentators; and, following our poet to other subjects which are penetrated with his moral ideals, we shall dwell for a few moments on the great tragedy *King Lear*.

In this tragedy the poet describes with great force and, we may say, with unsparing truth the fatal results that must arise when a family life, which should be based upon parental love and filial reverence, disregards and disobeys those natural instincts and holy duties which can only secure the sound state of our affections.

The principal actor in this piece is King Lear, an old, passionate, obstinate and phrase-loving man—"every inch a "king," "whose hands smell of mortality." He has made up his mind to abdicate his throne and, in carrying out this object, he assembles around him his three daughters to divide amongst them his empire according to the greatness and magnitude of their love, protestations of which he expects to hear from their lips. Mistaking the outward sign for the deep inward feeling of affection, he himself, in some measure, accustomed his children to flattery and hypocrisy. Thus it comes to pass that two of his daughters, Goneril and Regan, who understand the art how to flatter the vanity and weak-

ness of the old man with hollow and empty assurances, are each of them rewarded with half the portion of his realm, whilst the youngest, Cordelia, whose heart is not upon her tongue, is not only banished from the sight of her father, but also deprived for ever of that inheritance which by way of justice should legitimately be awarded to her.

*Lear* How, how, Cordelia? mend your speech a little,
Lest it may mar your fortunes.

*Cordelia* Good my Lord,
You have begot me, bred me, loved me: I
Return those duties back as are right fit:
Obey you, love you, and most honour you.
Why have my sisters husbands, if they say,
They love you all? Haply when I shall wed,
That lord, whose hand must take my plight, shall carry
Half my love with him, half my care and duty:
Sure, I shall never marry like my sisters,
To love my father all.

*Lear* Here I disclaim all my paternal care,
. . . . . .
And as a stranger to my heart and me
Hold thee, from this, for ever. . . .
. . . . . .
I loved her most, and thought to set my rest
On her kind nursery.—Hence, and avoid my sight!

Poor Cordelia! so wrongly understood in her holiest sentiments, she is still partly compensated for the loss of a father by gaining a husband; the Duke of France, who by his expression,—

Love is not love,
When it is mingled with regards that stand
Aloof from the entire point;

and

She (Cordelia) is herself a dowry,—

shows that he is worthy to be the consort of the womanly gem which shines in such true and bright colours.

Closely associated with King Lear is the dramatic interpolation of Earl Gloucester and his sons, which shows us the fatal consequences of youthful aberrations, by which we lose that purity of feeling with which we should enter upon wedded life.

Edmund, the natural son of Gloucester, revenges the stains with which his birth was marked by a fiendish attack upon his father and his brother Edgar, and compels those nearest him not only to quit their own home, but also to wander about penniless and destitute of every comfort which brightens and sweetens human existence. In this position they meet in their pilgrimage King Lear; and probably this unhappy occasion did not fail to bring vividly before their minds the words of our poet:—

> Who alone suffers, suffers most i' the mind;
> Leaving free things and happy shews behind:
> But then the mind much sufferance doth o'erskip,
> When grief hath mates, and bearing fellowship.

King Lear is treated with the greatest barbarity by his mock daughters, upon whom he had lavished all his bounty and goodness; they refuse to give him reception into their houses, and even drive him, devoid of every shelter, in a fearful, boisterous and stormy night, into the open street. We can feel with him when, exposed to such an awful calamity, he exclaims:—

> Filial ingratitude!
> Is it not as this mouth should tear this hand,
> For lifting food to't? But I will punish home:
> No, I will weep no more. In such a night
> To shut me out! Pour on, I will endure:
> In such a night as this! O Regan, Goneril!
> Your old kind father, whose frank heart gave all.

The fearful impressions of this night bring Lear to the brink of madness. Old, true-hearted Kent imparts the sad news to the once beloved daughter Cordelia, whose dear rights the king gave away to these stony-hearted daughters. Cordelia, on learning the brutal treatment which was inflicted upon her dear parent, repairs forthwith to the place of action to reinstate her father by force of arms into those pledged rights which were denied him. In a beautiful, and one of the finest passages in the tragedy, we listen to a few of

those sentiments which she utters in her care to bring relief to her tried father :—

*Cordelia* What can man's wisdom do
In the restoring his bereaved sense ?
He that helps him, take all my outward worth.

*Physician* There is means, madam :
Our foster nurse of nature is repose,
The which he lacks ; that to provoke in him
Are many simples operative, whose power
Will close the eye of anguish.

*Cordelia* O my dear father ! Restoration, hang
Thy medicine on my lips, and let this kiss
Repair those violent harms, that my two sisters
Have in thy reverence made !

The fortune of battle decides against Cordelia and Lear. Both are taken prisoners. Cordelia is murdered by the secret command of Edmund, and Lear dies over the dead body of his beloved child. The two unnatural sisters, in each aiming at the possession of the wretched Edmund's love, fall just victims to their cruel designs. Goneril, prompted by jealousy, poisons Regan, and then destroys herself. Treacherous Edmund meets his death at the hands of his persecuted half-brother Edgar. Thus the termination of the tragedy conveys to us the moral lesson which Edgar teaches to his dying brother, saying :—

The gods are just, and of our pleasant vices
Make instruments to scourge us.

We cannot leave this tragedy without commenting for a few minutes upon the three daughters Goneril, Regan and Cordelia.

As we always thought that education is principally the result of those habits under which we are trained, we could never make it out how the same domestic influence could bring forth human beings so opposed to each other in their nature as Goneril and Cordelia. In analyzing the dispositions of various women whose minds were imbued with the spirit of evil, we were always delighted to see that

Shakspeare still with a few slight touches has bound them to the principle of "good." But in this instance, in the delineations of the characters of Goneril and Regan, we miss every redeeming feature. They represent nothing but abominable wickedness in its utmost degree. There are commentators, and amongst these Gervinus, who maintain that the elder daughter Goneril, "with the wolfish visage," and "the "frontlet of ill humour," is more fiendish than her younger sister. We are not of this opinion, but fully believe that both are equally matched in their wicked propensities. The one, Goneril, ill-treats her father, betroths herself during the lifetime of her husband, the noble Albany, whose "milky "gentleness" she despises, to Edmund, and poisons her own sister for the sake of possessing the whole realm; the other, Regan, shows the same unnatural feelings to her father; she lengthened the time in which poor Kent was put in the stocks from noon till night, and not only plucks herself the white beard of old Gloucester, but also persuades her husband, passionate Cornwall, to blind both his eyes, and after this dreadful crime is committed, she accosts that poor unfortunate man with the words—"How now, you dog?"

We cannot well perceive by what little shade of good the one sister differs from the other. Even in Edmund, considering the provocation he received by that stigma which was attached to his birth, we observe a redeeming feature in the words which he utters before his death, when he says:—

> Yet Edmund was beloved;
> The one the other poisoned for my sake,
> And after slew herself.

And a little further on:—

> Some good I mean to do,
> Despite mine own nature.

We are really moved, and our souls—although we dwell only upon a work of fiction—are deeply pained, when we learn the cruel death of Cordelia. Cordelia represents that type of

woman who, in a quiet, gentle, unobtrusive way, is ready to perform with self-sacrificing strength the holiest duties which are entrusted to her as child and wife. Having a voice which, according to her old father, was ever soft, gentle and low—an excellent thing in woman—we can imagine how, with the silvery accents proceeding from her soul, she made a forcible impression upon refined and cultivated minds. But even with this attraction we cannot see in her an ideal of perfection, for the mistakes which she committed hastened to bring about her ultimate fall. Knowing the hasty, rash and hot-tempered disposition of her old father, she might easily have humoured him by uttering those words he wished without lessening her better self, instead of repelling him by her frowardnesss and caprice. Still, in bewailing her fate, and that of her father, whose kindness of heart was not tempered by justice and self control, we cannot better satisfy our sad reflections than by the words of Edgar:—

> Men must endure
> Their going hence, even as their coming hither:
> Ripeness is all.

Having thus enlarged upon the principal ideas which have struck us in reading *King Lear*, we now, proceeding to another production which is impregnated with the moral spirit of the poet, enter upon those great lessons which may be drawn from the tragedy, *Othello the Moor of Venice.*

*Othello* is generally considered as a masterpiece of the poet, and yet, whenever we have read it, we have been attracted and repelled at the same time. We have been attracted by that terse, concise language, by the dramatic skill with which one action follows the other, and by the representation of two noble figures who, indeed, deserved a better and more worthy fate than that which they suffered. We have been repelled by that strength of dire dissimulation, by that subtleness of intrigue, and by that disregard of every noble principle through which villany succeeds in destroying

the happiness of two loving souls. In calling this tragedy "the tragedy of intrigues," it may be allowed us to draw from it the moral lesson, that every wedded life, having love and nothing else but love for its purpose, should be based upon mutual confidence in each other's true-heartedness, in each other's affection, and in each other's fidelity. In every case where these natural conditions, promising a happy domestic life, remain unnoticed and disregarded, there marriage turns either into a mere form of usefulness and comfort, or is changed by that "green-eyed monster," "jealousy," into an existence of deep misery and wretchedness. In our play, the marriage between the Moor and Desdemona does not entirely rest upon holy grounds; it is concluded by secrecy and intrigue against the knowledge and will of the father, and thus offers for future days to right-minded and straightforward souls a large field to dwell upon with uneasiness and regret. This wrong committed towards a parental benefactor is keenly perceived even by Othello; it strengthens him afterwards in his distrust towards his wife, and makes him reflect with anguish upon those ill-omened words proceeding from the mouth of the enraged parent:—

*Brabantio* Look to her, Moor; have a quick eye to see;
She has deceived her father, and may thee.

After these remarks, we enter more fully into the play.

Othello, the Moor, a free, open and valiant warrior, rude in his speech, and little blessed with the set phrase of peace, who has done great services to the Venetian State, wins the affections of fair Desdemona, the daughter of Brabantio, without the knowledge of her father. The father, strongly biassed by his prejudices, disapproves of the marriage of his daughter with an extravagant and wheeling stranger, of here and everywhere, and would have been more pleased to see her wedded to one of those "curly darlings of Venice." Indignant

at the behaviour of the Moor, and thinking that the valiant warrior had deluded the heart of his daughter by magic and enchantment, Brabantio summons Othello before the Duke and Senators, in order that he may here justify his conduct. The Moor appears; and, in a worthy and dignified manner, clothes his defence in the following words:—

> Most potent, grave, and reverend signiors,
> My very noble and approved good masters,—
> That I have ta'en away this old man's daughter,
> It is most true; true, I have married her;
> The very head and front of my offending
> Hath this extent, no more. . . . . .
> . . . . . .
> Her father loved me; oft invited me;
> Still question'd me the story of my life.
> . . . . . .
> I ran it through, even from my boyish days,
> To the very moment that he bade me tell it.
> . . . . . These things to hear
> Would Desdemona seriously incline:
> . . . . . and with a greedy ear
> Devour up my discourse. . . . . .
> . . . . . My story being done,
> She gave me for my pains a world of sighs:
> She swore,—In faith . . . . . .
> . . . . . She thank'd me,
> And bade me, if I had a friend that loved her,
> I should but teach him how to tell my story,
> And that would woo her. Upon this hint I spake.
> She loved me for the dangers I had pass'd;
> And I loved her, that she did pity them.
> This only is the witchcraft I have used.

This open and touching story of his courtship exculpates the Moor from all guilt. His judge, the Duke, not only sympathises with him, but also persuades the father to take up his mangled matter at the best. But old Brabantio cannot entirely reconcile himself with that deception imposed upon him; he leaves the scene of quarrel, asserting that he was glad not to have another child, as he certainly, to avoid a similar escape, would have hung "clogs" on it. Thus we see those clouds dispelled which hide the brightness of their love; but, unfortunately, other and heavier clouds arise very

soon, which, descending upon them in stormy effusions, annihilate their very existence. On the same day on which they celebrate their union, Othello is commanded to leave Venice for Cyprus, and to defend that place against the Turks who threatened to attack this island. In proceeding to this place the Moor is followed by his officers. Amongst these officers is Michael Cassio, a Florentine, who, not being practised in the art of warfare, but a man of "bookish pro-"pensities," was appointed his lieutenant. This preferment caused the ill-will and hatred of his "ancient," Iago, who, feeling himself slighted, and "being himself trimmed in "forms and visages of duty," by which malicious bravery so often blinds the hearts of unsuspicious men, determines to rouse the jealousy of the Moor towards Desdemona by pouring into his credulous ears the accusation that his wife lives upon terms of intimacy with his lieutenant. This mischievous plan proves to be successful. Devilish Iago avails himself of the first opportunity to make Cassio drunk; and when the latter, in consequence of this degrading step, is deprived by the Moor of all his military honours, the fiendish "Ancient," rejoicing at the discomfiture of his enemy, gives the unfortunate man the imprudent advice to ask fair Desdemona to intercede on his behalf. This intercession, and afterwards the loss of that handkerchief, which, as a precious gift and family inheritance, the Moor gave to his wife, and which, some time later, was abstracted from her by treacherous means, and thus came unknowingly into the hands of Cassio, strengthens the passion of jealousy in Othello's heart, prompts him to revenge, and fills him with that "chaos" in which, labouring under the influence of agonizing thoughts and conflicting feelings, he commits the horrible deed of murder on the sweet partner of his life.

In dwelling for a few minutes on the principal characters of our play, our sympathies naturally incline towards the side

of those noble minded characters whose own goodness provided Iago with the net to "enmesh" them. The more generous, frank and straightforward a nature is, the more easily is it accessible to all those words of suspicion by which intrigue succeeds in poisoning the minds of well-disposed men. In addition to this, we have to bear in mind that Othello's character was animated by that power of oriental blood, through the influence of which matters of great moment and importance are often deprived of the discipline of calm reflection and sober meditation. Moreover, it was not merely the feeling of jealousy which rankled in his mind, it was by far more the thought that the principle of his manly honour was shamelessly abused by the imagined intimacy of his wife with Cassio. We may rightly characterise this feeling in the words of Brutus:—

> Set honour in one eye, and death i' the other,
> And I will look on both indifferently:
> For, let the gods so speed me, as I love
> The name of honour more than I fear death.

Another feature, which accounts for his expression—

> I love thee and, when I love thee not,
> Chaos is come again,—

is to be found in his superstition. This confidence in his wife was not merely shaken by the deceptive information which was given to him that the famed pocket handkerchief was in possession of Cassio, but more so by his superstitious belief in the miraculous powers of this pocket handkerchief:—

> That handkerchief
> Did an Egyptian to my mother give:
> She was a charmer, and could almost read
> The thoughts of people: she told her, while she kept it,
> 'Twould make her amiable, and subdue my father
> Entirely to her love; but if she lost it,
> Or made a gift of it, my father's eye
> Should hold her loathly, and his spirits should hunt
> After new fancies: She, dying, gave it me:
> And bade me, when my fate would have me wive,
> To give it her. I did so: and . . . . .
> To lose or give't away, were such perdition,
> As nothing else could match.

. . . . . there's magic in the web of it:
A sibyl, that had number'd in the world
The sun to make two hundred compasses,
In her prophetic fury sew'd the work:
The worms were hallow'd that did breed the silk;
And it was dyed in mummy, which the skilful
Conserved of maidens' hearts.

Jealousy, false promptings of honour and superstition armed the hand of Othello to put out the light, and then to put out THE light. But in spite of this sanguinary deed, which we abhor with all our heart, we still pity the fate of such a deluded man, and are more than ever inclined to substantiate the truth of those words with which he parts:—

Speak of me as I am; nothing extenuate,
Nor set down aught in malice: then must you speak
Of one, that loved not wisely, but too well.

The character of Iago, the mischievous instrument of all the evils which mar the happiness of the two united persons, is drawn by our poet with masterly perfection. We learn by Iago's own statement,

I am nothing, if not critical,

that he is closely related to that species of infernal beings who, like Mephistophiles in Goethe's Faust, boast that they are the real personification of the negative principle. But unlike Mephistopheles, whose sole object is to win souls for his detestable realm, Iago strives more by way of his piercing judgment, by the spirit of revenge, by which he seeks to respond to those slights which he thinks are cast upon him, and by the anticipation of selfish fruits which he hopes to reap from his cunningly designed intrigues, to destroy the happiness of human beings on earth. Faithful to his motto, "put money in thy purse," and practising this principle very liberally upon his friend Roderigo, he possesses that unflinching will by which the wicked are so often victorious in upsetting the rights of the good. Thus he says:—

Our bodies are our gardens; to the which our wills are gardeners;
. . . . . either to have it sterile with idleness, or manured with industry.

Like Mephistopheles, he knows all those outward manners which are so much liked by the world; and very seldom utters an idea without savouring it with a moral ingredient. How wisely does he expatiate on the excellency of a good name when demonstrating with Othello:—

> Good name, in man and woman, dear my lord,
> Is the immediate jewel of their souls:
> Who steals my purse, steals trash; 'tis something, nothing;
> 'Twas mine, 'tis his, and has been slave to thousands:
> But he that filches from me my good name,
> Robs me of that which not enriches him,
> And makes me poor indeed.

Desdemona is one of the loveliest creations of womanhood that was ever painted by the genial hand of the poet. We have the testimony of the father that she was a maiden never bold; of spirit so still and quiet, that her motion blushed at herself. Othello describes her to us as a busy housewife, clever with the needle, an excellent musician whose voice could sing the savageness out of a bear; although he himself cared not for music.

We ourselves find the beauty of Desdemona's character in her own simple words:—

> I saw Othello's visage in his mind.

A woman who is thus able to brave the prejudices of nationality, descent and outward appearance, and looks for happiness in the virtues of the mind, is indeed a worthy specimen of her sex. But still, with all her great eminence, there is a want of penetration in her nature. She does not possess that instinctive feeling with which genuine women, like Gretchen in Goethe's *Faust*, surmise the evil spirit that surrounds them. She is so innocent at the danger that is near her that she cannot believe in the altered sentiments of the Moor, for says she,

> My noble Moor
> Is true of mind, and made of no such baseness
> As jealous creatures are.

And even then, when Othello's conduct became daily more

and more excited and passionate towards her, in the midst of fury and rage, she still seeks to exonerate him from all guilt, by saying :—

> Something
> Hath puddled his clear spirit: and, in such cases,
> Men's natures wrangle with inferior things,
> Though great ones are their object.

In this spirit she falls a sacrifice to a genuineness and strength of love, the depth of which can neither be fathomed nor measured. To the last moment she remains faithful to those beautiful words which she utters in her grief at the loss of her lord :—

> Unkindness may do much;
> And his unkindness may defeat my life,
> But never taint my love.

If thus the four preceding tragedies through which we have gone, have shewn us the soundness of Shakspeare's moral ideals, the fifth and last one, *Hamlet*, on which we are now going to remark, will give us a still greater proof of the high standard of our poet's moral views. It seems as if Shakspeare in *Hamlet* revealed to us a part of his own self, that part in which his great soul, imbued with everything that is high, noble and lofty on earth, reflects with thoughts of undying value on life and its manifold complications.

We may draw various lessons from this piece, but none with greater advantage than the lesson which so much influenced Hamlet's life, namely, that man's will and actions are so often weakened and frustrated by the power of conscience and thought.

> Thus conscience does make cowards of us all;
> And thus the native hue of resolution
> Is sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought,
> And enterprises of great pith and moment,
> With this regard their currents turn away,
> And lose the name of action.

Thinking that these words will give us a clue to the penetration of Hamlet's character, we now enter more fully into the facts of the piece.

Hamlet, Prince of Denmark, whose education was accomplished in Luther's town, the University of Wittenberg, returns to Elsinore, the residence of his royal parents, in order to pay the last mark of respect to his deceased father, whose death had so suddenly happened. Attached with all the fervour of filial affection to his parent, whose greatness he extols in the words—

> He was a man, Horatio, take him for all in all,
> I shall not look upon his like again—

he is discomforted and unhappy at the unbecoming behaviour of his mother who, within a month after the death of her husband, wedded herself again to his uncle, now King Claudius, who was no more like his father than—

> Hyperion to a satyr, or he himself to Hercules,—
> A little month; or ere those shoes were old,
> With which she follow'd my poor father's body,
> Like Niobe, all tears;—and now, now,—
> (O God! a beast, that wants discourse of reason,
> Would have mourn'd longer)—married with my uncle,
> My father's brother . . . . . .
> Would I had met my dearest foe in heaven
> Ere ever I had seen that day, Horatio!

Hamlet's sensitive mind is wounded in its innermost core. The frivolous conduct of his own mother has poisoned his belief in woman; and therefore we can easily account for his expression—

> Frailty, thy name is woman!

In the midst of this perplexed state, in which his mind dwells upon the pains which he suffers, and by way of presentiment suspects that some foul means might have been employed to remove his father from the sight of the living, he is strengthened in his belief by the assurance of his friends—and amongst these Horatio—who assert that they have seen the ghost of his father wandering by night:—

> A figure like your father,
> Arm'd at all points, exactly, cap à pié,
> Appeared before us, and with solemn march
> Walked slow and stately by us.

The truth of this marvellous tale is experienced by Hamlet himself. The ghost of his father appears to him, and imparts to his ear the following communication :—

'Tis given out, that sleeping in my orchard,
A serpent stung me; . . . . . .
. . . . . but know, thou noble youth,
The serpent that did sting thy father's life
Now wears his crown. . . . . .
Therefore revenge this foul and most unnatural murder.

Hamlet, in hearing this woful tale, disclosures of which he anticipated in his prophetic soul, promises his father that he,

With wings as swift
As meditation, or the thoughts of love,

would sweep to his revenge.

The power of reflection, however, steps in immediately and dissuades him from every passionate step. It advises him not to commit any rash or hasty deed, but to put on "an "antic disposition" for the purpose of finding out the truth of the revealed facts. But this mask of feigned madness which he now assumes, does not assist him much in the pursuit of his object; his peculiar conduct, turning from the high road of truth, makes those persons with whom he comes in daily contact equally cautious and untrue towards him. Fair Ophelia, once doting on him, repels his letters, and denies him access to her; Rosenkranz and Guildenstern, formerly the loving companions of his youth, and now the instruments in the hands of the king, to sound him from his lowest note to the top of his compass, annoy him with their cunning and crafty mission; and old Polonius, whose principles consisted of a mixture of diplomacy, expediency and intrusion, harasses him perpetually by those crooked means which the old man employs to pluck out the heart of his mystery. In this perplexed situation, surrounded by mere spies, he meets with the actors; and at once his mind, infected with the melancholy impressions of past events, regains that brilliancy

of intellectual superiority, through which he utters the most beautiful ideas on actors and the histrionic art :—

> O ! it offends me to the soul, to hear a robustious periwig-pated fellow tear a passion to tatters, to very rags, to split the ears of the groundlings ;
>
> . . . . . .
>
> suit the action to the word, the word to the action, with this special observance, that you o'erstep not the modesty of nature ; for anything so overdone is from the purpose of playing, whose end both at the first, and now, was, and is, to hold, as 't were, the mirror up to nature.

And then, how pointed, how sublimely sarcastic his remarks to the royal courtier, old Polonius :—

> Let the actors be well used ; for they are the abstracts, and brief chronicles, of the time.
>
> *Polonius* I will use them according to their desert.
>
> *Hamlet* God forbid, man, much better ; use every man after his desert, and who should 'scape whipping ? Use them after your own honour and dignity ; the less they deserve, the more merit is in your bounty.

Disappointed in his attempt to find out the crime of the king by disguise, and prompted by his love for theatrical performances, he resolves to try another means for the purpose of convincing himself of the alleged murder. He has heard that guilty creatures, sitting at play, have been so struck with its truth, that they have instantly confessed their malefactions. And as the ghost might be the devil, so he must have grounds more relative than those which he already possesses. Therefore he determines that

> The play's the thing,
> Wherein to catch the conscience of the king.

The play, containing some lines from him on the murder of Gonzago, is performed before the royal court ; the king is caught in the " mouse trap," and Hamlet will take the ghost's word for a thousand pounds. He is now prepared to do the awful deed, for—

> 'Tis now the very witching time of night,
> When churchyards yawn, and hell itself breathes out
> Contagion to this world.

Even the occasion is favourable to him. He finds the king

alone, anxiously seeking to relieve himself, by prayer and repentance, from the foul murder he had committed. But Hamlet hesitates again. Subtle reflection tells him that to murder him now, in the act of praying, is hire and salary, not revenge—

> He took my father grossly, unhousel'd, unanel'd,
> With all his crimes broad blown, as flush as May,
> . . . . . .
> No.
> Up, sword; and know thou a more horrid hent.

After this Hamlet follows the command which summons him before his mother. He appears there, works himself up into a passion, speaks daggers to the queen; and, hearing a voice behind the arras, makes a pass through it with his sword and kills—instead of the king, whom he expected to find there—poor Polonius.

This rash and hasty deed forms the turning point of the tragedy.

Reflective Hamlet, so cautious in all his proceedings, and weighing every action in the scale of thought before he embodied it into practice, has fallen into "the trap of passion," before he knew it even. He has killed against his will and wish an innocent man. From that moment "thought and "conscience," the ruling powers of his soul, lose their absolute predominance over him; he becomes a fatalist, maintaining that man's thoughts and actions are governed by a stern divine destiny:—

> There's a divinity that shapes our ends,
> Rough-hew them how we will.

In consequence of the guilt which he has drawn upon himself, his presence can no longer be tolerated in Denmark. He is sent to England with Rosenkranz and Guildenstern, who bear letters with them affecting Hamlet's death. These letters he draws secretly from their pockets, opens them, reads them, and writes other ones in their stead, in which he requests that the bearers, formerly his dearly beloved friends,

should be put to death. Thus, the man of conscience and thought, once fallen from the eminence of his moral height by killing Polonius, sacrifices the companions of his youth, pacifying his better self with the words :—

> They are not near my conscience ; their defeat
> Does by their own insinuation grow.
> 'Tis dangerous, when the baser nature comes
> Between the pass and fell incensed points
> Of mighty opposites.

His ship being chased by pirates, Hamlet alone returns to Denmark, meeting his death at the hands of his unconscientious opponent Laertes, having before killed, in the excitement of passion, the wicked king, who stepped in between the election and his hopes, the destroyer of all the ardent wishes of his life.

If we cast a retrospective look upon Hamlet's character, we cannot but admire the manifold charming beauties with which his soul was so richly gemmed. We fully join in the words of Ophelia, when she says :—

> O, what a noble mind is here o'erthrown !

Some critics have questioned Hamlet's great moral virtues, others have reproached him with a feminine weakness as regards the execution of that mission which his murdered father had imposed upon him. Both these accusations are erroneous. Hamlet was by no means an angelic being, but he was a man whose mind and soul were perfectly imbued with all those qualities which raise man so much in the scale of rational beings. In this opinion we are supported by nearly all the persons in our tragedy. His uncle finds the feelings of mourning with which he yearns after his father, " sweet " and commendable :" nay, he praises in him even his generous nature, which is free from all contriving. The queen, his mother, lives almost by his looks ; she seeks on every occasion to extenuate his little weaknesses ; and when, at the

funeral scene, he forgets himself with Laertes, she instantly endeavours to excuse him with the words :—

> This is mere madness;
> And thus a while the fit will work on him;
> Anon, as patient as the female dove,
> When that her golden couplets are disclos'd,
> His silence will sit drooping.

Ophelia does not merely speak with the partiality of the loving girl, when she laments his unhappy state in the following strain :—

> O, what a noble mind is here o'erthrown!
> Th' courtier's, soldier's, scholar's, eye, tongue, sword:

but she shows also a deep analytic insight into his whole being, as—

> The glass of fashion, and the mould of form,
> The observ'd of all observers!

The people likewise are fondly attached to Hamlet. For, when Laertes feels indignant that the king did not publicly prosecute Hamlet for the wicked act he has done, the former answers him :—

> The motive
> Why to a public court I did not go,
> Is the great love the general gender bear him;
> Who, dipping all his faults in their affection,
> Work like the spring that turneth wood to stone,
> Convert his gyves to graces.

In the same spirit Horatio, the true friend, speaks of him in the hour of death, exclaiming :—

> Now cracks a noble heart. Good night, sweet prince;
> And flights of angels sing thee to thy rest!

Even Fortinbras acknowledges the noble bearing of his soul in the lines :—

> Let four captains
> Bear Hamlet, like a soldier, to the stage;
> For he was likely, had he been put on,
> To have prov'd most royally.

What a great moral standpoint Hamlet took in that sphere in which he moved, we learn from the following passages in our piece :—

What is a man,
If his chief good and market of his time,
Be but to sleep and feed? A beast, no more.
Sure, he, that made us with such large discourse,
Looking before and after, gave us not
That capability and godlike reason
To fust in us unus'd.

Another passage of a high moral import is the following. Hamlet having spoken to the conscience of the queen, requests her pardon in the following way :—

Forgive me this my virtue;
For in the fatness of these pursy times,
Virtue itself of vice must pardon beg,
Yea, curb and woo, for leave to do him good.

The other reproach so often brought forward against Hamlet, that there was a want of manly determination and firmness of purpose in his character, may be easily explained. Hamlet was too sensitive, too tender-hearted and too noble-minded to be able, and particularly by promptings of external influences, to commit a murderous deed that was so much at variance with the finer emotions of his soul.

The hand of little employment hath the daintier sense.

Moreover, it is said by the king :—

Goodness, growing to a pleurisy,
Dies in his own too much.

If we alter this passage and say, instead of "goodness," "reflection," growing to a pleurisy,

Dies in his own too much,

we have in these short words a key to the irresolution of our hero.

Finally, we cannot refrain from mentioning two passages in *Hamlet* which strike so mightily upon the foibles of our age. The one is the personification of Osrick, in which Hamlet satirizes the darlings of the fashionable world, those water flies whom

"The drossy age dotes on,"

who, possessing the sum of time and outward habit of encounter, and having gathered

"A kind of yesty collections,"

go through the most fann'd and winnowed opinion, until they come to a point where their wit leaves them, and the "bubbles" evaporate.

The other is Hamlet's reflection on poor Yorick's skull:—

> Now get you to my lady's chamber, and tell her, let her paint an inch thick, to this favour she must come.

How truthfully do these lines express the mighty revolution of the maggot and the worm!

In conclusion I have to thank you for the attention with which you have listened to my paper. Be it far from me to think that I have given you any new ideas on Shakspeare; it was merely my purpose to point out to you the eminent moral lessons which we might draw from the works of the immortal poet. In this spirit I have laid before you the five principal tragedies of the great bard. Should you judge favourably the present results of my humble endeavours, and should I be so happy as to find in your kindness and forbearance a fresh stimulus for similar labours, I shall feel great pleasure in giving at a future time a continuation of this paper.

# ON THE SELECT NATURE AND STRUCTURE OF THE ENGLISH TONGUE.

*By the late John Just, Esq.*

(Read 7th January, 1864.)

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The common opinion respecting the English language and its numerous dialects is that they are originally and fundamentally Anglo-Saxon, with Norman French inserted into and intermingled with them. That this opinion is to a certain extent true no one acquainted with these two tongues will venture to deny. Yet there are many distinctions in the English tongue which can neither be accounted for by the uses and idioms of these two languages, nor be found among the modern terms and phraseology introduced into our speech by foreign intercourse, so widely extended by our almost universal commerce. We are apt to forget the frequent inroads, the numerous settlements and the entire subjugation of the Scandinavian hordes into, within and over this island, during the later periods of the Anglo-Saxon era of our history. That these hordes considerably modified the language of the country needs no other proof than that, as they more and more established themselves within the island, and gained more and more territories therein until they obtained universal sway, the pure literature of the golden age of King Alfred so declined that, at the Norman Conquest, England was nearly as unlettered as in the latter times of the Octarchy.

Had not history recorded that the Anglo-Saxons were part of the Teutonic branch of the Gothic race of mankind, their language, as left to us in the remains of their literature, would at once settle such a question. Compared with the Old High Dutch and Old Saxon, the Anglo-Saxon appears to be but a

mere dialectic variation. And though, in a great number of its roots and terms, it does agree also with the Old Norse, still, in its total want of the definite form alike of nouns, substantives and adjectives, it could never be considered as having appertained to Scandinavian literature.

The English language, as at present spoken and written, is a selection of words, names and terms from among the tongues spoken by the numerous tribes and kindreds of people who have from time to time located themselves within the kingdom. Without any very great or absorbing preponderance of any particular tongue, save the Anglo-Saxon, the whole has amalgamated into one common speech which, for copiousness and freedom of expression, far surpasses aught to be found in any of its constituent parts, or to be met with in the learned languages of antiquity, or in any one of the modern speeches of civilized Europe. Yet, while all has so harmoniously blended, like the different races who constitute the entire population and use it as their common tongue, it is capable of a strict analysis, so that we can assign to each race its particular share in contributing to the select nature and structure of our modern English. The following exemplifications of this truth may serve to convince us of what we might otherwise conceive to be but a very bold and hazardous assertion.

Most of our English grammars tell us that nouns which denote no sex belong to the neuter gender. This is not true. Genders in all languages are known by the separate inflections of nouns, influencing chiefly the articles which precede the nouns, or changing their terminations. The English language has no inflection which influences either the preceding article or the termination of its nouns: such nouns therefore have no gender. The genders of English nouns are expressed by different words, and are limited alone to sexual distinctions among persons and animals. In thus having (unless by figures of speech) all its nouns, that are

not names of living creatures, genderless, it differs from all ancient and modern tongues. This is not a defect, but an excellence. Inflections fetter languages, and bespeak a paucity of terms and expletives to express the ideas words are meant to communicate. Yet, if English nouns, unless in the cases specified, be thus genderless, we must not thence infer that the English language is totally devoid of inflection where gender constitutes the difference. The pronoun "he," "she," "it," is an example of inflection, though wholly anomalous as we shall presently see; and the word "it" the only word truly neutral in our language.

In our notice of this neutral pronoun we will first observe that, though it is classed in most of our grammars among the personal pronouns, it is undoubtedly, as likewise the masculine and feminine forms "he" and "she," demonstrative.* The neuter pronoun "it" is derived from the Anglo-Saxon "hit," usage having rejected the aspirate, except in provincialisms. According to Rusk's rule the pronoun "it" commutes with the Latin pronoun "id" and, like this, means the object, subject or thing just mentioned, or going before, expressed in the noun for which it stands. This pronoun, therefore, refers to no person, and so cannot be a *personal* pronoun. The same holds true of the Latin pronouns "is," "ea," "id," and "ille," "illa," "illud;" of the Greek αὐτος, αὐτῶ, αὐτὸ, and ἐκεῖνος, ἐκεῖνω, ἐκεῖνο—all are real demonstratives. In the Scandinavian tongues this demonstrative wants the neuter form. The Keltic retains it, as in the Welsh "eo," "hi," "e," he, she, it; though strange to say, and stranger still to account for, the Gælic and Erse are referred to the same stock as the Welsh, and yet recognise no neuter gender at all, either in noun or pronoun.

We have stated that we retain the neuter pronoun "it," in our tongue, as having been handed down to us by our Anglo-Saxon fore-elders. We do the same with respect to "he" and "she," yet we have herein not followed the Anglo-Saxon rules.

* *Vide* Latham's English Language, chap. vi, p. 225.

The Anglo-Saxon demonstrative stands thus, "he" masculine, as we use the word at present, "heo" feminine, and "hit" neuter, as already mentioned. From this "heo" feminine, our pronoun "she" can never have descended. In the Anglo-Saxon is another demonstrative pronoun, "pot," neuter, from which we have derived our demonstrative "that," though we have despoiled it of its gender, and "seo" feminine. Except in some of our dialects, we have altogether discarded the regular feminine "heo," and selected for it, "seo," now our feminine pronoun "she;" having, contrary to our treatment of the Anglo-Saxon "hit," aspirated the word according to the caprice of custom—the *jus et norma loquendi.*

The total want of the neuter gender in the English nouns seems to have arisen from the influence of the Norman-French in modifying the structure of our tongue. Still our genderless nouns must be referred to by pronouns, as well as those nouns which have their genders marked out by sexual distinctions. And as the Norman-French has no neuter nouns, and consequently no neuter pronoun to represent them, the modelers of our present tongue were of necessity compelled to retain the Anglo-Saxon pronouns neuter to remedy this deficiency.

If there has been a seeming capriciousness in the foundation of our demonstrative pronouns with generic distinctions, there has been no less such a one in their declensions. Unless we admit the genitive form of our nouns to be a case, not only are most of our nouns-substantive genderless, but caseless likewise. This has by no means been the fact with pronouns. As for example, the pronoun "she," while it retains the same number of cases as the other pronouns, presents us with an anomaly in them. Our grammars presume to decline this pronoun thus: Nominative "she," genitive "hers," objective "her." "Hers" and "her" can have no connection with "she." "Her" is the Anglo-Saxon dative case of the demonstrative "heo," and "hers" is a double case, being the

genitive form of that original dative. This genitive form in "s" is almost the only remnant of the Anglo-Saxon declensions which as a general form we have retained in modern English, being derived from the complex declension of that tongue.

So far our pronouns, strangely selected as they may appear to be, have been selected from the Anglo-Saxon tongue. Yet the Anglo-Saxon pronouns themselves are not all pure. There seems to be a selection in them. We will exemplify this point or position. Our grammars—copies of preceding grammars—chiefly in the classical tongues, decline the pronoun of the first person thus: Nominative "I," possessive "mine," objective "me." "I," in Anglo-Saxon "ia," in Old Norse, "ic" and "ck," commutes with the Greek "ἐγώ," and the Latin "ego," according to rule. "I" is indeclinable, having no oblique case. "Me," which we make accusative or objective, is the Anglo-Saxon dative "me." The old genitive or possessive "mine" is the regular Anglo-Saxon genitive "min." But not satisfied with this genuine form we have substituted, unless in answer to interrogatives, the possessive adjective pronoun "my" for it. We have thus a nominative undeclined of Gothic descent, with a genitive and objective form borrowed from some other quarter. From no other can we have borrowed the oblique cases of the first personal pronoun than from the Keltic stock, the first case nominative therein being in Welsh "mi," in Erse "ma," in Gælic "mi." And not only have we and the whole kindred families of Goths been indebted thus for the oblique cases first named to Kelts, but also the Greeks, Romans and most, if not all, the civilized nations of Europe. A question this for philology to account for.

We have not, however, limited ourselves to such selections as the above from among the Anglo-Saxon pronouns, but we have taken similar liberties with the Scandinavian tongues. This may be instanced in the class of pronouns in our word

"same." If we thoroughly investigate the Anglo-Saxon literature we shall be satisfied that this word never belonged to that tongue. We find it in the Gothic "sa sama," "so samo" and "pato samó." Into the Teutonic branches the word has not thence descended. We meet with it alone in the Scandinavian dialects. It occurs in the Old Norse "samt," "sama" and "som," but seems to have been selected into our tongue from the common and definite form, "sama," the same. Though thus found in Gothic and Scandinavian literature, no root is therein extant from which it has been derived. Into the Indo-Teutonic tongues it seems to have been introduced from the Sanskrit "sama-s," like.* It agrees with the Greek words "ὁμός" and "ἅμα;" also with the Latin "similis" and "simul." While, singular enough, in the Lowland Scotch, where we might expect to meet with the word, in consequence of the influence the Norse has had there, the people use the Anglo-Saxon synonym "ilia" or "ylea," while we, the English, where the influence of the Northmen was much less, have adopted the Norse word, and use it to the entire exclusion of the word we might more legitimately consider our own.

But not herein alone from the Old Norse (by which is meant the language spoken in common by Danes, Swedes and Norwegians, when their mingled tribes as Northmen occupied and settled in many a fair province of our land) have we selected the definite pronoun alluded to. Many a good word we owe them, whatever we may think about their deeds. Our adverb "abroad" is one of the many words for which we stand to them as debtors. We have derived it from the Norse words "a braut," away. To go abroad is just synonymous with to go away. Generally the old Northmen used the words we have compounded into one for setting out on their roving seafaring expeditions as pirates and sea-kings. We also frequently restrict the word "abroad" to a similar mean-

* *Vide* Grimm's Deutsche Grammatik, Dritter Theil, pp. 49, 50.

ing, although our voyages are undertaken for profit and not plunder. Though thus synonymous, there is, notwithstanding, nothing similar in the radical meanings of the roots from which the two expressions are derived. The Norse "braut" literally means a broken path or way. It comes from their verb "briota," to break. The Anglo-Saxon "veg" implies motion, more than the path moved on. It is an abstract term from the Gothic root "vigan," to move or be moved. The same noun is also retained in the Norse under the form of "veyr." Many words owe their origin to this same old root, as "wagon," what moves on a way; "way," the path moved on; "weigh," to move on the balance; "wag," to shake or move the head; "wig," the movement in battle &c. &c. The Anglo-Saxon word "veg" and our word "way" transmute with the Latin word "via." The Norse "braut" and the Latin "fractus" stand in the same relation to each other. The Latin tongue has not handed down to us any such terms as "fractus" or "fractum" in the sense of a path or way; yet, early on in their history, the Latins seem to have had in use some such word. This is seen in the compounds "anfractus" and "anfractum," meaning winding ways, cross and round-about passages &c.

In researches of this kind it is useless to go abroad in quest of terms we have selected to enrich our mother tongue. Of such a fact, our very houses and homes and our every day's intercourse and transactions supply us with proofs. Not a street scarcely can we walk along in any of our towns but we see stuck up in one or more windows of dwellings, "this house to let" or "be let." Every newspaper we take up abounds with advertisements of eligible mansions and residences to be let, valuable farms, mills, warehouses &c. Yet common as this word "let" is thus among us, there is perhaps not another word in the language so generally puzzling and perplexing to would-be critics as it is. One party tells us that the word is a neuter verb and cannot be made

passive, expressing a mere condition of being; and therefore the phrase "a house to let" is correct and grammatical English. Another party denies this assertion and will have the verb to be active; and therefore "a house to be let," is the proper phraseology Let us see then what light our subject lets in upon this apparent difficulty. The English language contains three "lets," all alike in orthography, but totally distinct in etymology and meaning. One "let," in the sense of allowing, permitting, exhorting &c., is derived from the Anglo-Saxon verb "lætan," which has the same meaning. The second "let" occurs in the sense of to stop, to hinder. It also is of Anglo-Saxon origin, and comes from "lettan," of like import. The other "let" is altogether unknown in the Anglo-Saxon tongue. It has come into our language from the Old Norse "leigja," which means to hire, pay rent for &c. First we have anglicised the verb and formed from it "leyed," and then we have contracted and corrupted it into "let." So have we done with its abstract form "leiga," house rent, which we have modified into our noun "ley," a term we still use for payments of rates, assessments and other burdens on lands and tenements. In the modern tongues this word is still common. In Danish its form is "leia." In Swedish, "leja." In the Teutonic branch it is altogether wanting. It commutes with the Latin word "locare," to pay rent, to farm out &c.; so invariable is the law of philology in the transition of words from one common source into different languages and tongues.

The influence of the Norse has likewise been felt in terms connnected with land. "God speed the plough" has been the pledge of many a cup at many a merry meeting, for many a century past within this realm. Yet we seem not generally to know by whom the name of the plough was introduced among us. The Anglo-Saxons knew nothing of such an implement and its uses, ere they settled in the land. This is apparent from their not having a term for it in their own

tongue. Even when they had accustomed themselves to the use of the so-called plough of the Romans, which they found in the hands of the British at their settlement in the country, they so confounded the terms of husbandry, that by a kind of metonymy, they gave the name of "syl" or "suhl" to the Roman-British implement from the furrow, "sulcus," which it drew, without attending in the least to the Roman-British name. The work of one such plough during a season they have called a "sullung" or furrowing. This so-called plough, from the figures left of it in the Anglo-Saxon MSS., seems to have been but a sorry kind of an article, not fit to be brought into comparison with the worst form of our plough in the neglected districts of England. We owe both the framework and the origin of the modern plough to the Northmen. We meet with the word in the Old Norse "plôgr." In Swedish it is "plog;" while in Danish it occurs both as "plov" and "ploug," as in English, and was in all probability introduced by that people during the 11th century, at the latter part of their dynasty within the island. About the same period the word was also introduced into the Old High Dutch, Middle High Dutch &c. We know of no root either in the Teutonic or Scandinavian tongues from which it is deducible. Dr. Grimm supposes it was first introduced into Germany by the Sclavonians, inasmuch as the word is found in the several tongues and dialects of that people.* In the Gothic and Old Saxon the word is unknown. The British name for their plough was "aradr," their mode of pronouncing the Latin "aratrum," the word for the Roman plough. The Romans seem to have derived their implement from the Greek colonists among them, the Greek name being ἄροτρον. What sort of agriculture was known to the Teutons and Scandinavians in early times must have been extremely simple, if we are to judge of it by the terms connected with it that have reached our times. Ulphilas, in his translation of the

* Deutsche Grammatik, chap. iii, p. 414.

Greek Testament, construes the word ἄσσσον, or plough, with the Gothic word "hôha," the origin of our modern term "hoe." So that we may hence surmise that in those very primitive times those nations hoed their grounds for their crops for want of better articles to turn up the soil.

While we thus owe the name of the plough to northern introduction, we also are indebted to them for the term husbandry beside. Among the Scandinavians the common name for the peasantry was "bondi," the abstract form of "buondi," dwelling in or inhabiting a country. As intercourse with more civilized nations, in consequence of their numerous marauding expeditions, began to civilize a little the inhabitants of these northern climes, the "frelsi," or manumitted slaves, as well as certain favoured "bondi," had houses assigned them, with plots of ground adjoining for the use of their families. As the culture of such private plots was distinct from the common culture on the grounds of their "yads "hofdingi" &c., the person so favoured, separate from the general herd, obtained the name of "husbondi," and the culture of their grounds "husbondri." When such families obtained settlements in England they brought over with them the habits and names of the North; and from mingling with the Anglo-Saxon natives, with whom adjuncts to introduced terms and titles were common, the suffix of "man" was applied to the name of "husbondi," who thus became "husbandmen," a term still kept up in the northern counties for labourers on farms, who are styled "husbandmen" to this day.

It would be tedious to multiply instances of such selections of words made from among the northern settlers, which mingle with our spoken tongue to the present time, and ever will as long as it henceforth continues a living language. We have not merely had this mingling of words, but also of families and family names among us, so that the Northerns have both fixed their own names to many places in the land,

and left a goodly and a noble heritage of their families still distinct among us. Frequently in their struggles for plunder and possession they had to depopulate whole districts, so unyielding were the stubborn Anglo-Saxons, and so desperately hated they their ferocious invaders. The Northmen had hence, when they had desolated districts with their swords, to assign names to the places and possessions obtained, since all Anglo-Saxon memorials had perished with their persons. Bede informs us that, after the plunder and utter destruction of the monastery of "Schonhalgh," the Danes afterwards gave the name of "Whitby," or white residence, to the spot, a name which the place still retains; and by accurately discriminating the differences which exist between the Norse and Anglo-Saxon tongues, we may even yet ascertain in what places the Northmen settled, and where they left the Anglo-Saxons in possession of their previously and similarly acquired properties and places. The word church in Anglo-Saxon is "circe," or "cyrce," pronounced "chirch," so that names of places wherein church occurs, have primarily belonged to and have subsequently been retained by that people. In Norse the word is "kirkja," in Scotch and provincial English "kirk." Hence all places named "kirkbies" in the north of England have been so named by northern settlers. As instances of this kind we may select as places where these settlers have preponderated—Kirkham, Ormskirk, Kirkdale, Kirk-Newton, Kirk-Oswald, Kirkstall &c. &c. Places terminating in "by" are also of Norse designation, and numbers of these are found throughout the old kingdom of Northumbria, where they had longest and most durable possession. One example may illustrate and establish this proposition. In the Vale of the Lune, in Lancashire, the Danes have left numerous traces of this kind behind them. North of Lancaster is "Halton," properly "Haughton," so named from the tumulus or Danish "haugh" within the village. These are the names of the "bojais," or farms belonging to "byes"

or residences of their great men. As under Hornby we may mention such places as "Whaitber," "Stainderber," "Threaber," "Scaleber" &c. The name of "fell," too, for mountain bespeaks Norse or Danish influence in a district. Within the manor of Hornby just mentioned is "Sauterfell," Norse, or "Romsfell," "Litherell," or fell of the hill side, or declivity &c. Similar names of Norse derivation might be found in almost every locality in ancient Northumbria.

Along with such names, showing a great admixture of Northmen within such districts, are still found numerous northern families, showing how the Danish proprietors and the inhabitants in time amalgamated. Some few family names derived from epithets may be of Anglo-Saxon descent, yet such names were few, as records show us, and were the exception and not the rule at the epoch of the Danish influence. In the north such epithets, as nicknames, were general and most abundant. Every man there had his nickname, particularly if there was aught remarkable in his appearance or character. Some obtained such names from their complexions, as the "Greys," "Whites," "Blacks," "Browns," "Blakes" &c. Others again had names assigned them from traits in their personal appearance. Short and dwarfish persons obtained the nickname of "stutts," now-a-days "stotts," or "scamri," now "scamless." A third set, especially before Christianity found its way among the natives, bore fanciful names from their infancy, as may be instanced in "Bjorn," a bear, now "Burns." Adjuncts as prefixes to such fanciful names were likewise common, as in "Asbjorn," the bear of the Osir or gods, in modern times named "Ash-burns." "Thorbjorn," the bear of Thor, whence come our families of "Thornbers." Such names must be kept separate from those of the "Thornburrows," inasmuch as the "Thorn-burrows" have derived their names from the names of such places within the kingdom. Compound names ending in "man" are of the Anglo-Saxon stock. The name of

"Mather" is the Norse of the same, "Masr" being man. As general Norse names, which are very numerous, we may here produce the following—"Agur," from "Ager;" "Rigg," from "Rig;" "Grime," from "Grimr;" "Foster," from "Fostr;" "Harland," from "Arlant;" "Grundy," from "Grundr;" "Hawkes," from "Hawkr;" "Frost," from "Frosti," &c. &c., with numerous others of frequent occurrence in the Old Norse sagas.

Names from trades and handicrafts were assigned to persons employed therein both by the Anglo-Saxons and Northmen. Yet names so given keep up their distinctions to the present. The general name of artizans of every kind was Smith. Simple "smiths" are Anglo-Saxon names, "smithies" are Norse. "Millars," from their business of millers, are Anglo-Saxon. "Milners," for the same reason, are Norse. "Ulls "woolley," is Anglo-Saxon; "Woolner" is Norse. "Fullers," "Towers," are Anglo-Saxon. "Kilners," "Gardners," &c., are Norse. Some names are derived from offices, as "Gotts," from "Gopr," a priest, or one who had the charge of a "hof" or heathen temple in the north. "Goods," from "Gopa;" "barge," from "bargr" &c. &c.

We thus have literally admitted foreigners from the north into our kingdom, and allowed them free intercourse for themselves, their names and families, partly, at first, from necessity, but afterwards more from choice, and have adopted much of their speech into our tongue, when it suited our purposes better than our own. As farther instances we may notice names of buildings. "Bigging," applied to a building, shews it to be Norse, as in "Dearsbiggin," "Newbiggin" &c. The Anglo-Saxons "timbered" their houses, and always used the word "timbrian" to express the act of rearing one of their houses. Hence many of their terms for such buildings were "booths," "bootles," "bolds" &c., and were wooden structures. Such fabrics had an opening for the door, and an eyelet for a window. In Anglo-Saxon, this

eyelet, or hole, was called an "eagdure," or eye-door. In the Norse, "biggins," whether a "bygth" or a "by," was a similar opening for the admission of air, called by them "vindanga," or wind-eye, which term we have adopted, and modernised into our word "window."

We have chosen also several Norse names and terms for our domesticated animals. "Bull" we have formed from the Norse "bole." "Gimoner," in our northern dialects, we retain as the name for an ewe-lamb, which in Norse is "gimber." "Stegg," the name for a gander, is in Norse "stegger," and so on.

Even in our common style of speaking and writing we prove in almost every sentence the select nature of our language. When we talk of the blooming of flowers, we speak Norse, "blômi" being the name of a flower in that tongue. If we chose rather to talk of the "blossoms" of summer, we then prefer our native speech, "blosma" being the Anglo-Saxon name for a flower. But if neither word will suit us —if we prefer a word from high classic sources—then we can transplant into our speech, as a grace to adorn it, "flowers," derived from Hesperia, through the Norman school. We thus, in our language, have a free choice of words, either to give full force and effect to our expressions, or to polish and refine its idiom, so that no one can deny but the language we speak must necessarily be choice.

Of the adaptation of the Norman-French, and, through it, of the introduction of many of the best words of ancient Rome into English, we need not say one word. Both languages are so generally known and understood amongst us, that we should be trifling, were we to point out how they have had their influence in modifying its structure. We have grafted largely many a vigorous shoot thence into the English stock, and have left the slender twigs and superfluous foliage behind, as useless verbiage among a people whose sayings should be as energetic as their doings.

As a whole, our language approaches nearer perfection, in having cast off the burdens of inflection, than any other. It is rich beyond precedent in connecting and simplifying terms. Though capable of being highly elliptical, it leaves nothing to be understood beyond the ideas which it utters. Yet it has one sad and deteriorating deficiency. Like the Anglo-Saxon groundwork on which it is built, it lacks entirely reflective pronouns. Hence our "hes," "shes" and "its," and our "theys" and "theirs," obscure, by their constant reiteration, its perspicuity. Flexible as is its structure, and vary that structure in our sentences as we may, we cannot get over this ambiguity. The subjects and objects, distinct persons and things, are jumbled up under one indefinite pronoun, in every phrase we give utterance to, every proposition we employ in our speech

Still we may learn this from this brief sketch—that such a Babel as our language appears to be, it may yet be analysed and separated into its distinct elements. The law of the transition of sounds is the same as when it first operated and threw language into apparent confusion. Men do not, cannot, invent sounds. They merely apply in their own way such as they hear. Were it otherwise, all intercouse through an exchange of thoughts by means of language would be lost. Did we each of us, when we say anything new, call it by a new name of our own imposing, instead of asking, as we invariably do, for the proper one, we should thereby break asunder the bonds of society. No man could thenceforward converse with his fellow. But so long as every tribe of mankind merely modifies the words it receives into its own tongue, according to one certain invariable rule, so long shall we be not only able to fully understand one another by studying the mutations of speech, but to trace out all distinctions in words to their true sources, so as to be enabled to state from what kindred of tongues they have been derived, but also to point out the particular objects to which they were legitimately applied.

It is in this way that philology, hitherto considered, and justly so, as but a learned kind of trifling, may become the handmaid to history.

Many a habit and custom, become obsolete and lost in practice, may be made known to us by the name and term for it, which it may have left as its memorial behind it. Words are the representatives of deeds and actions. We cannot make known the one without the intervention of the other. If words, then, be but imperfectly or improperly understood, the representations through them are weakened and, so far, their use impaired, and their value, as the currency of men's minds, lessened. Of this matter, even when we speak and write, we think too little. Hence language becomes lax, vague, fluctuating, and the import of what we say or write, by mere negligence, uncertain. Over dead languages we spend, some of us, much of our time. Yet unless we make our knowledge of dead languages available to the elucidation and improvement of our own living one, our minds might almost as well be dead within us. When we converse with the dead we do not fully do our duty unless we make their language, as well as their thoughts, a benefit to the living.

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[Editorial Note.—This view of the value of philology in relation to history is one with which we are happily familiar; but at the time when this paper was written (before 1849) it was otherwise: and one reason for now printing it is to show how the course of events and current experience demonstrate the soundness of the esteemed author's views, dating, as they do, from a period anterior to that since which the works of Trench, Max-Müller, Latham and others have made the subject popular.]

# THE PRE-HISTORIC MAN OF CHESHIRE:

OR,

# SOME ACCOUNT OF A HUMAN SKELETON FOUND UNDER THE LEASOWE SHORE IN WIRRAL.

*By Lieut.-Gen. the Hon. Sir Edward Cust, D.C.L. &c.*

(Read 12th May, 1864.)

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Upon the coast of the hundred of Wirral in the county of Chester, under the loftiest of the sandhills that bound the shore from the Dee to the Mersey, there was found on the 22nd January, 1864, by the workmen employed on the Leasowe Embankment, a nearly perfect male human skeleton, which must have lain there from some very remote period. The body could not have been recently placed on the spot where it was found by any conceivable means, since the sandhill which existed there was nearly 100 feet in height and, within my own memory, was as much as three or four hundred yards removed from the tide. No casualty from shipwreck, nor other act of violence, could, by possibility, have stowed away a victim in such a place; and moreover it must have been prior to the formation of these hills, of which there is no extant historic record, that this most ancient inhabitant of our land here laid down his earthly tabernacle.

The skeleton was discovered under the following circumstances: a navvy, preparing for his work as the tide receded, saw amid the black peat a white substance which he thought to be a broken basin, but, on removing it with his hands, proved to be a human skull. He immediately carried it to his ganger, who had the rest of the bones carefully removed

for safety to a neighbouring building. The body was observed to lie by compass E. and W.; and, when first exhumed, the bones were very white but, shortly after exposure to the air, they became dark and inky. The whole district about Leasowe Castle is sand based upon three or four feet of peat soil, which itself rests upon blue silt or clay. The skeleton was placed below the peat and upon the blue clay. The late rapid inroads of the sea have destroyed the sand-hills, but, when these are washed away, the peat deposit is exposed, just as it is found inland in form, substance and thickness; and, until very recently, great masses of peat soil with the remains of trees in them have existed down to the lowest low water mark.

The bones were carefully collected; but it is possible that some may have been washed away before they could be removed. They consisted of a skull with all the teeth but one in excellent condition; the humerus and pelvis complete and proving the subject to have possessed great strength; both arm-bones and one leg-bone complete, but the finger and toe bones having, for the most part, perished: the left shin bone was also broken half way down; the vertebræ and ribs were incomplete. The remains have been carefully deposited in the Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons, London, where they have been examined by Sir Charles Lyell and other eminent osteologists. On Tuesday the 22nd of March they were lectured on at the meeting of the Ethnological Society by Professor Busk, who said "the cranium was well "formed; but there were some peculiarities in it which indi- "cated an original race or savage tribe. Other skeletons had "been found similarly situated in other parts of the country;" and he suggested "that, by the examination of their crania, "it might be possible to distinguish the differences in the "three tribes by whom Britain was occupied on the invasion "of the Romans."

The entire Hundred of Wirral was an ancient forest until the reign of Edward III; and remains of oak, pine and yew may still be traced along its shore, as well as upon the opposite coast of Lancashire. This great submarine forest is continually yielding to the rude shocks of ocean the skulls and horns of extinct and recent animals and many fine balks of timber fit for the upholsterer's use. The library at Leasowe Castle is fitted up with this oak, partly black and part only discoloured, but perfectly close and sound. Stumps of trees still stand where they were at first rooted, at about a mile distant from the place of the skeleton's grave. An almost perfect skull of *Bos Primigenius* was found not far removed from it. Many antlers and skulls, with their branching horns attached, of *Cervus Elephas* occur, and specimens of the defences of the prickets of the same species may be seen with the above in the staircase hall of the Castle. The skull of *Bos Longifrons* has been found in the adjoining Estuary called Wallasey Pool, together with other remains; these have been seen and lectured on by Professor Owen and they are therefore well known through the medium of books. It has been stated in the "Transactions" of the Liverpool Institution that a gentleman resident in Birkenhead had constructed an almost entire skeleton of a horse of small size, equalling a Shetland pony in height, from remains made from the ancient forest bed at Leasowe, but that the gentleman is dead and the work of his hands scattered and lost. The bones of the ox, pig, deer and dog and the pectoral bones of a *Silurus* are stated by the same lecturer (Mr. Hine) to have been taken from the peat or from the natural soil below it on the Leasowe shore. I am not aware, however, that a discovery has ever occurred of any memorial of primæval man's industry, either in stone or metal, in pottery or implements of war or the chase, in any portion of this extensive forest. Some writers of note have imagined that,

below the sandhills, there has been an intervening bed of blue silt between two peat beds, and that shells, bones and teeth of animals have been found in the upper of these, and Roman remains in the lower; and they have imagined a "convergence of the strata" into one another at some stated points, by way of accounting for there being for the most part only one stratum of peat: but this must be regarded as a mistaken account of the soil, the nature of which will be found to pervade equally the entire district whenever it has been turned up by the plough or has been exposed by the attacks of the sea, viz., 1, Sand; 2, Peat; 3, blue Silt with boulders of various sizes; and, 4, a strong impracticable red Marl, almost of the consistency of stone. This is the constant succession of strata, but in the lowest bed there are neither boulders nor fossil remains of any kind to be met with, though there are occasionally nuts &c.

What account, then, can be given of Our Pre-historic Cheshireman? We look in vain for some information respecting him in the pages of our Hon. Secretary's "Antiquities of "the Sea-Coast of Cheshire;" our learned friend is too modern for us by a great deal: his Fibulæ, his Tags, his Straps and Buckles illustrate more civilised days. Our search is after Britons more ancient than even the

"Pictos Britannos
"Hospitium ferox"—

men of a time which must have been before the Roman invasion by land or before that of the Phœnicians by water. Nay, we must even struggle past the time of Druidism, for we have neither Cromlechs nor Sacrificial Stones to direct us that way; and we may assume that when this our countryman lived, neither the oak nor the misletoe had become a mystic symbol. We claim for him an antiquity beyond any existing parchments, for we cannot hope to find anything written concerning him, nor has the art of Sculptor

or Lapidary recorded, ever so rudely, the symbol of his tribe or nation, graven "with an iron pen upon the rocks." Whether, then, he may have been "saint or savage, bond or free," "the "tree has rested where it fell;" and it must have fallen *there*, amid the dead silence of those extended shades before the great sea invaded his native forest, which there is the clearest evidence that it has done, but no record whatever of the time when: the wind, ever the mighty precursor of Neptune in the march of destruction, here raised by his sweeping power the barrier of sandhills to check the sea's progress for the time, but the march of destruction is uniform and constant.

Let us then see what can be collected concerning our race from those "Geological Evidences of the Antiquity of Man" which, within these few years, have formed the subject of enquiry amongst the most learned investigators of the creation. The first opening of this subject, as it is treated of by modern writers, nearly takes away one's breath. Until lately the learned were contented with the belief that Adam himself did not live more remotely from our present period than about sixty centuries or 6,000 years; but the deep researches of Sir Charles Lyell and the imaginative theories of the school of Bunsen would appear to force upon our credulity that this globe has been inhabited for fifty or perhaps a hundred thousand years. I do not presume to enter upon such debateable ground, nor to claim for my skeleton any participation in it. The old Bible Chronology is enough for my purpose. I do not, however, understand from Sir Charles Lyell's book that the most learned Philosophers or expert Geologists have *as yet* advanced in their *facts* further than to shew that the bones of man have been found in juxta-position with those of animals both recent and extinct in caverns and corners of considerable antiquity; and that works of man's industry, similar in nature and design with those of existing savage tribes in Australia and elsewhere, have been discovered in the

same caves and mounds in which human bones have been discovered. I believe, however, that complete skeletons, either human or animal, have never been met with in these caverns, and that what have been found therein have in most cases been odds and ends of bones of men and animals all heaped together confusedly in fissures of the earth in which they could never have lived and in which it is as far from probable that they could have died together. It seems, to my common understanding, that these conglomerations could only have been accumulated by the action of torrents or inundations or by some convulsion of nature, and that they can scarcely be admitted upon any principles of judicial evidence to have been bones of men and animals consorted together in the same company.

The only complete skeletons of man appear to have been met with in peat mosses or in peat shores, in some respects similar to the resting place of our own pre-historic man, in foreign lands, but I do not think that they, even, advance his story, for they have been found for the most part in mosses thirty feet deep, such mosses being surmised, by some, to be self-creating substances which increase by growth, whereas the peat of the sub-marine forest in our district is pure vegetable deposit. Sir C. Lyell remarks that "all the land and fresh water "shells, and all the mammalia, and all the plants, whose "remains occur buried in the Danish peat, are of recent "species," and that "all the quadrupeds belong to species "known to have inhabited Europe within the memory of "man," so that these discoveries render little assistance to our enquiry, and I think we may conclude that it is not from Geology that we can derive any data on which to calculate the probable period when our skeleton lived in the flesh, excepting that he must have lived and died in what is termed the *recent* period.

But there must have been some time or another in the

world's history when the wandering, enterprising savages of the continent *first* penetrated into the virgin solitudes of Britain: they may have come from the North or from the South—no matter whence—but on their first arrival they must have been too sparse for war and therefore need not have had weapons of offence; and they may have been too rude and uninformed to apply their ingenuity or industry to such implements of the chase or of cultivating the earth as have been found elsewhere constructed of enduring stone or metal. Men of this period must probably have at the first lived together in pairs or families, feeding upon the fruits of the earth before even any art of his industry was required to have been invented.

Nature first made man
*Where* wild in woods the noble savage ran.

He could only be occupied during such a period in ministering to the daily requirements of his appetites by hunting or fishing or climbing "from tree to tree" like the squirrels of our local adage. We may well imagine that he wandered from forest to forest and from land to land with the same infirmity of purpose as marks, in our own day, the Savage and the Monkey. In the wild waste he could have nothing to quarrel about for he could move at pleasure from one place to another. In the skull of our skeleton the teeth were remarkably fast-set and sound, but very much worn, shewing that they have been used in masticating very hard substances, such as bones of animals, or roots of the earth, or the stones of fruits, on which it is probable he subsisted. To such a period (as it appears to me) this pre-historic, aboriginal Briton may with good reason be considered to have belonged. He is found among other denizens of the same great forest which we know from their bones must have been numerous about him. In passing, it may be stated, as a report, not very well authenticated, that there has been

found in Wallasey Pool the skull of one other individual of our species believed to have been that of a woman; but no remains exist nor have any evidences of the industry or of the prowess in war of such a race been discovered in any part of the district; indeed, that which might have belonged to them has been probably originally of too flimsy or unenduring a manufacture to outlive the decay of thirty or forty centuries.

While the Briton may thus have been nearly last in the race of the old world, man was rapidly advancing into civilization at the other end of Europe on the confines of Asia. The Israelites were there at this very time tending their flocks and herds in green pastures, employing considerable agricultural industry for food and raiment. The everlasting Pyramids may have been already elevated, to deduce Science from the Stars: and the pillar of cloud may have been at this moment directing the chosen race to the visible knowledge of a Divine protection and to the establishment of a religious polity. The mission of man was doubtless the same in the East and in the West, and is still the same as from the beginning, "to replenish the earth and to subdue it;" and Almighty God has never left himself without witness, so that these "dry bones" remain around us to testify that while the animals of the lower creation have existed or have passed away or have changed considerably their form and magnitude, Man has ever remained the same in his form and structure as he first came fresh from the hands of his Maker.

# THE ART OF WRITING; A CHAPTER IN THE HISTORY OF HUMAN PROGRESS.

*By John Newton Esq., M.R.C.S.*

(Read 10th December, 1863.)

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A very common subject for essays and papers at Literary Societies used to be this—"On the difference between Instinct "and Reason;" and the human animal, painting his own portrait, drew it all *couleur de rose*. What they called "instinct" was allotted to the brutes, and glorious "reason" to man alone. Man was ever being drawn upwards—the beast drawn downwards: they had scarcely a single point of contact.

But we have changed all that; and the tendency of scientific inquiry is just now to the opposite extreme. Man is elbowed out of his exclusiveness and requested to shake hands with the ourang and the gorilla, as his next of kin. If he vaunt his affection for his young ones or his home, he is told of many a bird and beast which might enter into successful rivalry with him. If he point to his artificially constructed dwellings, divided into compartments and protected from enemies by various devices, how many a bird and beast, aye, and even insect, can match him! Nay, the common building ant of Texas constructs granaries with much art, clears the land, sows grain, gathers in the harvest, winnows and separates the chaff, dries and lays up the corn in store for the winter. Certainly the starting point of the human race is low indeed; and it seems to us, looking back from our lofty stand-point, a strange thing that

the poet, the philosopher or the artist, whose genius is the glory of his age, should be the direct lineal descendant of some naked and bestial savage, whose intelligence was just sufficient to make him a little more cunning than the fox and by so much more dangerous than the tiger.

But there is this tremendous difference, after all—that the fox and the tiger are born what they must remain, while the naked and bestial savage is still a man, with all the faculties of a man, including *unlimited improvability*. And of all the discoveries by which man has glorified his God and raised his own state, none has helped him onward like the Art of Writing. Century after century, through untold ages, men continued to vegetate; and so on from generation to generation to perpetuate their race, and re-appear to run the same aimless, monotonous round of existence; their laws, the unrecorded decisions of their elders and chiefs; their history, a vague floating tradition; their language, a shifting jargon.*

Much, indeed, was doubtless accomplished with the aid of the divine gift of language alone, as elaborated and moulded to express the great thoughts of quick and pregnant minds and by superior races of men. But without some mode of fixation, how imperfect and slow must have been all intellectual progress! The fame, even the very names of the hero and the sage passed away with the generation that

* Gabriel Sagard, who was sent as a Missionary to the Hurons in 1626, and published his *Grand Voyage du pays des Hurons* at Paris, 1631, states that among these North American tribes hardly one village speaks the same language as another; nay that two families of the same village do not speak exactly the same language. And he adds that their language is changing every day, and is already so much altered that the ancient Huron tongue is almost entirely different from the present. Some French Missionaries in Central America attempted to write down the language of savage tribes, and compiled with great care a dictionary of all the words they could lay hold of. Returning to the same tribe, after the lapse of only ten years, they found that this dictionary had become antiquated and useless; old words had disappeared and new ones had come up and, to all outward appearance, the language was completely altered. The Rev. Robert Moffat *(Missionary Scenes and Labours in Southern Africa)* bears striking testimony to the same effect.

had known them; and the eloquence of the orator died with the occasion that had given it birth. To put the matter in the simplest words:—the distance at which the ears could hear was the exact measure of the bounds of human intercourse. But, with the invention of the glorious art of writing, those favoured nations who possessed it at once took the lead. The attainments of one age could henceforth be fixed to become the starting point of the next, and the knowledge acquired by one might become the common heritage of all. Then did mankind take a new start in the onward race. Language was thenceforth a distinct and settled reality. Its fleeting forms were fixed; grammatical rules were established; and it became something more than an unstable heap of sounds continually changing. With it also comes a literature —a historical past—all those glorious associations which exalt a nation. Yet how shall we, spoilt children of civilization—

> The heirs of all the ages, in the foremost files of time—

duly learn to appreciate this greatest of gifts that the past has bequeathed to us.

That excellent missionary, the Rev. John Williams, tells a striking story which may help us. He says:—"In the "erection of the mission chapel [at Rarotonga] a circum- "stance occurred which will give a striking idea of the "feelings of an untaught people when observing for the "first time the effects of written communications. As I "had come to the work one morning without my square, "I took up a chip and, with a piece of charcoal, wrote upon "it a request that Mrs. Williams would send me that article. "I called a chief and said to him—'Friend, take this; go to "'our house and give it to Mrs. Williams.' He was a sin- "gular looking man, remarkably quick in his movements, "and had been a great warrior, but in one of the numerous

" battles he had fought had lost an eye. Giving me an inex-
" pressible look with the other, he said—'Take that! she will
" 'call me a fool and scold me if I carry a chip to her.'
" 'No,' I replied, 'she will not; go immediately, I am in
" 'haste.' Perceiving me to be in earnest, he took it and
" asked—'What must I say?' I replied—'You have
" 'nothing to say; the chip will say all I wish.' With a
" look of astonishment and contempt, he held up the piece
" of wood and said—'How can this speak? Has this a
" mouth?' I desired him to take it immediately and not
" spend so much time in talking about it. On arriving
" at the house he gave the chip to Mrs. Williams, who read
" it, threw it away and went to the tool-chest, whither the
" chief, resolving to see the result of this mysterious proceed-
" ing, followed her closely. On receiving the square from
" her, he said—'Stay, daughter, how do you know that this is
" 'what Mr. Williams wants?' 'Why,' she replied, 'did you
" 'not bring me a chip just now?' 'Yes,' said the astonished
" warrior; 'but I did not hear it say anything.' 'If you did
" 'not I did,' was the reply, 'for it made known to me what he
" 'wanted; and all you have to do is to return with it as
" 'quickly as possible.' With this the chief leaped out of the
" house and, catching up the mysterious piece of wood, he
" ran through the settlement, the chip in one hand and the
" square in the other, holding them up as high as his arms
" would reach, and shouting as he went, 'See the wisdom of
" 'these English people! they can make chips talk, they can
" 'make chips talk!' On giving me the square, he wished to
" know how it was possible thus to converse with persons at
" a distance. I gave him all the explanation in my power;
" but it was a circumstance involved in so much mystery that
" he actually tied a string to the chip, hung it round his neck,
" and wore it for some time. During several following days

" we frequently saw him surrounded by a crowd, who were " listening with intense interest while he narrated the wonders " which this chip had performed."

As some mighty river is fed by tributaries from many lands, so this wondrous art has originated in small beginnings and in many regions. It supplies a universal want, and must have been the product of innumerable anxious endeavours. The book of Genesis long existed only in patriarchal memories. The poems of Homer were for ages unwritten, and were recited by rhapsodists at the great festivals of Greece. The Sanscrit Vedas must have been transmitted for ages by oral tradition only. Even to this day the chief education of the Brahmin consists in learning by heart from the lips of an old Brahmin all those sacred books which pertain to his class.

To relieve the over-burdened memory many little devices would arise. Such we see in the rosary or chaplet, a convenient mode of counting prayers, which has been in use for more than 2,000 years amongst the Buddhists of Central India. The abacus and the tally are not yet out of use. The curious wooden almanacks called prim-staves, or mass-day staves, the use of which had doubtless descended from Pagan times, may here be referred to. An interesting paper on one in this Society's Museum will be found in our fifteenth volume. They were long staves of hard wood, which served also as measures of an ell, on the edges of which were notches, one for each day in the year; and on the sides were rude carvings, having reference to the weather, the operations of husbandry and the saints' days. The Jews were accustomed to wear a piece of cloth, worked with various fringes, threads and knots, which served to keep perpetually before their minds the 613 precepts of the law. The ancient Peruvian quipus was a far more complex affair. Quipu signified a knot; and the quipus in use for recording facts, or committing ideas to safe keeping for transmission to future generations,

consisted of a cord of different-coloured strings, to which a number of other cords were attached, distinguished by their colours. With these specific ideas were associated. *Yellow* denoted gold and all the allied ideas; *white*, silver or peace; *red*, war or soldiers; *green*, maize or agriculture &c.; and each quipus was in the care of its own Quipu-camayoc or keeper of the quipus, by whom its records were interpreted. Upon the cords various kinds of knots were tied which expressed figures; and by such means registers were kept of the census and military rolls, accounts of the revenues and other important statistical information. Even the public annals and genealogies were thus preserved by this curious system of artificial memory. The wampum belt, which has been in use even to our own times among some of the North American Indians, consists of strings of beads of various colours, so arranged as to suggest by association to the interpreter the exact law or transaction of which it was made the sole evidence. There was accordingly a Sachem specially appointed "Keeper "of the Wampum," and verbal promises interchanged either with themselves or with foreign tribes were regarded as of little moment if no strings of beads or belts were employed to ratify them and secure their remembrance. The wampum belt delivered to the great William Penn after his treaty with the Indians in 1682, recording their cession to him of a large tract of land, is still preserved. Catlin (*Travels and Adventures among the North American Indians*, vol. ii), tells of an ingenious priest and chief among the Kickapoo tribe who, "having been solicited by a Methodist preacher for permission "to preach in his village, refused the privilege; but kept him "at his own hut secretly, until he had learned from him his "creed, and system of teaching it to others. He then "discharged him, and commenced preaching amongst his "people himself, pretending to have had an interview with "some superhuman mission or inspired personage, ingeniously

" resolving that if there was any honour or emolument to be " gained by the promulgation of it, he might as well have it " as any other person. With this view he instituted a prayer " which was to be repeated by aid of a maple stick, 1½-in. in " breadth, covered with rude characters. These prayer-sticks " he has introduced into every family; and, as he has neces- " sarily the manufacturing of them all, he sells them at his " own price, and has thus added lucre to fame." Catlin saw the people repeating their prayers off these sticks, beginning with the forefinger at the top line, and continuing in a sort of chant to the end, which altogether required about ten minutes.

But these ingenious schemes for assisting the memory could never have originated a true alphabet by which the sounds of the human voice should be as well represented to the eye as musical sounds are by the seven notes of the diatonic scale.

Our modern alphabets may be traced through many stages. 1st. Men were content to record in pictures simple concrete ideas. 2nd. These pictures were reduced to a system, and were grouped or joined together, to form compound words or ideas. 3rd. Object-pictures were used to represent a sound only. 4th. These pictographs, now used arbitrarily to represent a sound, were reduced to the simplest and most convenient forms. The North American Indians, with all their sagacity, scarcely got beyond the first step; the Chinese scarcely beyond the second; the ancient Egyptians attained to the third; while to the Phœnicians, the most practical and enterprising of all ancient Eastern races, belongs the transcendant honour of having elaborated a pure alphabetic system, from which all the alphabets of the world have been derived.

In tracing the origin of these abstract signs for sounds and things, we shall consider first those which represent numbers. Even the very idea of number, apart from the things repre-

sented, is quite unknown to many a primitive or degraded race, which still exhibits to us in grown men an almost infantile stage of mental development. Thus, "the North "American Indian is unable to comprehend the idea of "abstract numbers. They exist in his mind only as associated "ideas. He has a distinct conception of five dogs or five "deer; but he is so unaccustomed to the idea of number as "a thing apart from specific objects, that I have tried in vain "to get an Indian to admit that the idea of the number five, "as associated in his mind with five dogs, is identical, so far "as number is concerned, with that of five fingers."* It is just so with our children; and nurses usually teach numbers by grouping the objects themselves together. The same mode prevails at infant schools; and this pictorial arithmetic has been extended even to some school books of late years. The child's fingers are afterwards much used for counting on; but one always hears each finger at first called by the name of the object it is to represent. The South African Damaras have no numerals beyond three. They calculate on their fingers, and are terribly puzzled after five, because no spare hand remains to grasp and secure the fingers that are required for units.† Many doubtless were the stages by which nations passed from the vague idea of multitude to the definite one of number. Homer, who first represents for us the early Greek

* Wilson, *Pre-historic Man*, vol. ii, p. 470.

† We found it extremely difficult to get any accurate information on these points, owing to that singular dislike of statistics which is so characteristic of Orientals. A Turk, when asked a question of figures, to save himself further trouble, replies at once with a good round number. A Greek winces, utters a peculiar exclamation expressing something between doubt and annoyance, and when he sees no means of escape, tells you as much as he knows himself. "How "many monks are there in this monastery?" "Do you mean this monastery?" "Yes! how many are there in this monastery?" "Eigh! a great many." "But "what do you suppose is the exact number?" "Eigh! I dont know, about "eighty or ninety." We rarely arrived at anything more definite than this. At one monastery when we asked whether they saw many strangers? the monk replied, "Oh yes, they come from all the kingdoms of the world." However, when we questioned him more closely, he allowed that no one had been there for two years.—Rev. H. F. Tozer on Mount Athos, in *Vacation Tourists and Notes of Travel*, 1862.

civilization, uses the term *μυρία*, not in its sense of a certain definite number, but vaguely as an indefinite one. And this (to our minds) vagueness of enumeration prevails throughout the Old, and is seen also in the New Testament. From the former we might select many passages like the following:—"As the host of heaven cannot be numbered, neither the "sand of the sea measured, so will I multiply the seed of "David my servant, and the Levites that minister unto me."* Now we know that the visible stars as seen by the Prophet might have been readily numbered, but to the Jewish mind, which had never attempted to map out their places, they appeared innumerable.†

The Egyptians had scarcely advanced beyond the simple repetition of strokes up to nine, even in the latest hieroglyphics of the Rosetta stone. In the Roman notation the same simple artifice prevailed up to the number IIII. Then the figure of an expanded thumb and forefinger, V, gave the numeral five. With this and the units they managed up to nine (VIIII), when the doubled figure of the thumb and forefinger gave them ten (X). This figure repeated gave them twenty (XX), and so on. Out of such simple materials did they construct their numerals. The ancient Aztecs used dots up to 20, which was marked by a *flag;* the square of 20, or 400, by a *plume of feathers;* the cube of 20, or 8,000, by a *purse.* Our modern Arabic or Indian numerals were formed also from the simple stroke, or unit repeated (pl. XI, fig. 2). In later times, after the perfecting of alphabetic systems, numerical values were often attached to the letters, a practice which still prevails amongst our tradesmen. But all these numerical systems are purely arbitrary—mere aids to the memory, like the tally or the rosary. They are not phonetic. Thus the Arabic 20, or the Roman XX, stands equally well

* Jeremiah xxxiv, 22; see also Genesis xv, 5; xxii, 16–18; and John xxi, 25.
† Galton, *Narrative of an Exploration in Tropical South Africa.*

for *Viginti*, *Vingt*, zwanzig or twenty. They are equally available for all languages, and so brief that the shorthand writer cannot improve upon them.

But we come now to the far more difficult achievement, the discovery of a method by which the names of all objects and the language of universal ideas should be expressed as vividly to the eye as they are to the ear by the sound of the words—by which human thought and speech can be transferred to a visible form, and fixed for ever. And it needs no long argument or deep research to prove that the first effort towards its solution would be by simple pictures. MM. Boucher de Perthes and Troyon discovered rude bone carvings and sketches of objects among the remains even of the Mammoth and the Cave Bear, as well as in the earliest lake dwellings of Switzerland, the work of men who must have lived thousands of years before the dawn of authentic history. Indeed it is hard to conceive of a time when picture writing was not. The figure of an animal would be the symbol for the animal, that of a man for a man. A bow or a spear drawn in the hand of the latter would be the natural symbol for an act. Thus actual objects and deeds, past or future, could be at once fixed and symbolized. A spear and a club, a sword and a bow were no sooner made than they were employed as the symbols of acts; for, next to action itself, is the desire of perpetuating the remembrance of the acts, however rudely or imperfectly it may be done.

Language itself is most picturesque in its earliest stages, concerning itself rather with giving names to visible things, qualities and actions than with abstruser ideas. The earliest names were always word-pictures. The Bible names are invariably so: and how suggestive! A history in a word. Thus—the name of the patriarch Job is as if they had styled him "the persecuted," "the afflicted one." And his three daughters, the fairest of the land, who were born to him in

the days of his second prosperity, were named Jemimah, "dove;" Kezia, "cassia," a sweet perfume; and Keren-happuch, "eye-paint," a well known article much used in female adornment, suggested by her long dark eyelashes and full eyebrows. The beautiful Hebrew maiden who captivated Ahasuerus was called Hadassah, "a myrtle," and by the Persians Esther, "a star." There is no book so full of material images and pictures as the oldest of books—the Hebrew Bible. It is full of this realistic poetry, which gushes out from every word. The names of towns (as Jerusalem, "habitation of peace"), even of wells (as Beersheba, "well of the oath"), are at once a word-picture, a history and a solemn memory. Such, then, was the daily language of those ancient peoples. The spirit of the fervent days of old was strong within them and their hearts were full.

Many a simple and primitive race still preserves to our own time this picturesqueness of thought and language. M. Emile Souvestre tells us that if you ask a little Breton peasant girl, who keeps her sheep on the heath, "What is the "name of this wood?" she will perhaps reply—"The Wood "of the Bones" (*Koätseorn*). Ask her the name of the rivulet, she will reply—"The River of the Murder" (*Gouël*); and the name of the precipice hard by—"The Raven's Rock." Her father, she will further inform you, is called the "Man "of the Large Eyes" (*Lagadec*); that her mother's name was the "Wood Rose" (*Roscoët*); that she was born at the "Place of the Little Tribe" (*Ploubian*); that she had had eight children, five of whom she had "given to God;" that the youngest "goads the oxen since the month of the white "straw," while "the eldest is gone on the good God's sea, "in one of the king's ships." And as you depart, she will raise her hand to her mouth, as if to give you the kiss of charity, and will cry—"God's blessing be on you!"

English surnames have long lost their original picturesque

significance. If racy (as Strongitharm, Redhead, Blacklock, Pretty), they are often now ridiculously inappropriate and contrast very disadvantageously with the personal cognomen of many an Indian chief--"The Buffalo," "The Swift Arrow," "The Thunder-cloud," "The Feathered Warrior" &c.

Mankind in all ages have clung to the real and tangible. They care but little for the abstract and the intangible. The Israelites preferred a visible calf of gold before the invisible Jehovah; and sensuous forms of worship still hold the world. In the Middle Ages Miracle Plays and Mysteries were highly popular; and the Romish Church thus taught the people something of the Bible story. For those who were wealthy and could read, the Books of Hours were provided, in which short scripture extracts and prayers were rendered attractive to the eye by rich borders and capitals, with many attractive religious pictures, all in brilliant colours and gold. In these pictures nothing was left to the intellect; the deepest truths were broadly delineated.

All heraldry, we know, is but a kind of picture-writing. It announces the family of the wearer, and once told its tale of brave deeds rewarded by princely favours in visible symbols. Our seals, like the signet of Pharaoh 3000 years ago, still impress with their heraldic marks the pictograph of the individual. Our coins still speak to us pictorially of British maritime supremacy, through the figure of Britannia seated by the sea, with her shield and trident. Our shop signs used to be highly pictorial. We still see the Bible and crown, the goldsmith's hammer, the barber's pole and basin. The inestimable value of all picture-symbols, as records of facts, is now indeed fully recognised. The Egyptians and Assyrians have told us far more and much more eloquently of themselves, their manners and customs, their religious rites and creeds, their wars and their pastimes, by the innumerable pictures and bas-reliefs with which they delighted to cover

their palaces and tombs, than we know or ever can know from their written records. The human eye is less liable to be affected in its habits of interpretation than the ear; and a picture of Hogarth's is better evidence as to the state of society a century ago in England than whole volumes of disquisition. What would we not give now-a-days for a volume of sketches by some John Leech in the reign of Elizabeth?

> Segnius irritant animos demissa per aurem,
> Quam quæ sunt oculis subjecta fidelibus, et quæ
> Ipse sibi tradit spectator.

And to my mind there is no more gratifying proof of the healthy direction which modern education is taking than the rapid increase amongst us of illustrated works. Our forefathers were content with dull books on bad paper. Illustrations were rare, and what they were we know but too well. Now-a-days the artist and the printer go hand in hand. Not content even with a superabundance of illustrations to our works of an order of merit, even for common books, never obtained by our forefathers for the most expensive, we are striving now to discard the mere black and white pictures, and to present the images of things in their natural colours. The fondness of children for pictures has always been noticed, and advantage of it is now taken in our infant schools to teach them the dull, unmeaning, arbitrary signs through the much-loved symbols, or the two are intermingled, as in Catherine Sinclair's ingenious picture proverbs and letters.

I have copied in plate X, fig. 2, a very primitive-looking picture-letter given in Freycinet and Arago's Voyage to the Eastern Ocean. It was drawn by a native of the Caroline Islands. The figure of a man at the top denotes the ship's captain, who by his outstretched arms represents his office as a negotiator between the native and the trader. The rays or ornaments on his head denote rank or authority. The vine beneath him is a type of friendship. In the left column are

depicted the number and kind of shells sent by the native. In the right column the things he wished in exchange, viz., seven fishhooks, three large and four small; two axes and two pieces of iron. The transaction, it appears, was satisfactorily accomplished.

The North American Indians have, however, brought picture-writing to much greater perfection than this, as will be seen by a short extract from Mr. Schoolcraft's report of what he observed in 1820, when a member of the United States' exploring expedition to the sources of the Mississippi. "At the mouth of the small river Huron they saw Indian "graves, fenced round with saplings and protected with much "care. At the head of each stood a post on which was "drawn the figure of the animal which was the heraldic "symbol or 'totem' of the clan to which the deceased chief "belonged. Strokes of red paint were added to denote war "parties engaged in or scalps taken from the enemy. Two "such are figured on plate X. Fig. 5 is the adjedatig or "grave-post of a celebrated war chief, who died on Lake "Superior about 1793. He was of the family or clan of the "Addik, or American Rein-deer, as symbolized by the figure. "Its reverse position denotes death. The seven transverse "marks on the left denote that he had led seven war parties. "The three perpendicular lines below the totem denote three "wounds received in battle. The figure of a Moose's head "relates to a desperate conflict with one. The symbols of the "arrow and pipe indicate his influence in war and peace. "Plate X, fig. 4, represents the grave-post of a Dacota warrior. "It denotes that he had killed, during his life, seven men, "five women and four children. The figures are headless to "signify that they were slain.

"This exploring party consisted of sixteen persons, with "two Indian guides. One morning, as they prepared to leave "their encampment of the previous night, a small strip of the

" white birch bark, covered with devices, was observed elevated " on the top of a split sapling, eight or ten feet high. One " end of this pole was stuck firmly into the ground, and it " leaned in the direction they were about to go. (See plate X, " fig. 3.) The scroll was interpreted thus :—1 represents the " U. S. officer in command of the party—he is drawn with a " sword to denote his rank. 2 is the person who acted as " Secretary—he holds a book. 3 denotes the geologist and " mineralogist of the party—he carries a hammer. 4 and 5 " are attachés. 6 is the interpreter. The group marked 9 " represents eight infantry soldiers, each of whom carried a " musket, as seen at 10. 15 denotes that they had a separate " fire, and constituted a separate mess. 7 and 8 are the two " Chippewa guides, of whom 7, called Chamees or the Pounc- " ing-hawk, led the way ; 8, the other, was the writer. They " alone are without hats, the symbol of the hat being used to " distinguish the white from the red race. 11 and 12 represent " a prairie hen and a green tortoise, the sum of the preceding " day's chase, which were eaten at the encampment. The pole " that bore this birch-bark letter leaned in the direction they " were journeying, and there were three hacks in it, to indicate " that the estimated length of their journey was three days, " viz., from water to water, from the St. Louis River which " they had left to the shores of Sandy Lake, on the Upper " Mississippi. Every circumstance of their encampment was " thus recorded, for the benefit of any of their people who " might wander that way."*

In these pictorial records the Indians follow certain conventional rules, well understood amongst themselves, so that they are as legible to them as our arbitrary writing system is to us; and more brief and suggestive. They are constantly

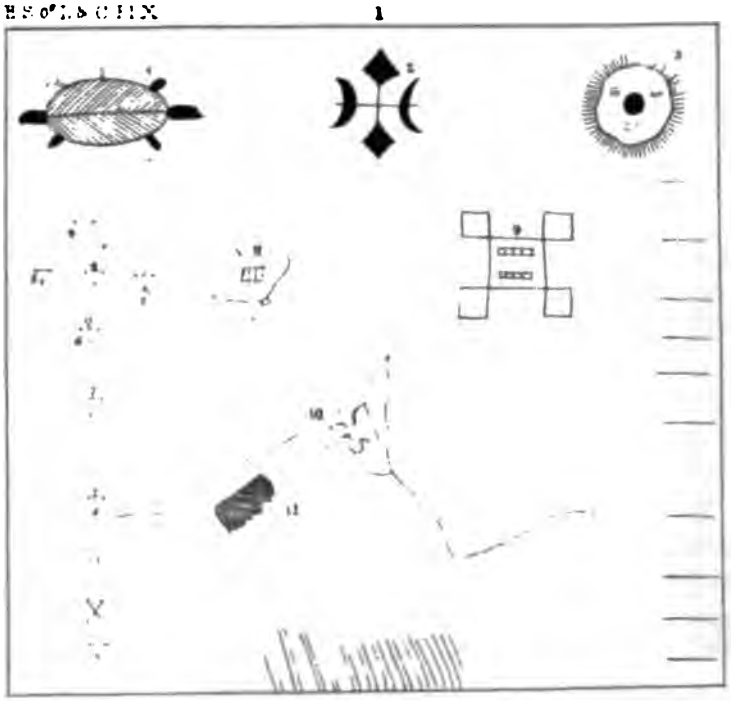
* History, condition and prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States, edited by H. R. Schoolcraft, LL.D., and published by order of Congress, 1853. Vol i, p. 336.

to be met with on the sides of trees, purposely stripped of their bark, on their tents, war-clubs, canoes and grave-posts. Thus a warrior pourtrays on his buffalo-robe his achievements in battle and in the chase; a medicine-man his talismans and incantations. Mr. Schoolcraft* gives a copy of a Census-roll, furnished by the head of an Indian tribe, numbering thirty-families and 108 souls. It begins with the totem of the tribe. Each head of a family has his appropriate picture-emblem, beneath which are strokes to indicate the number of persons in that family. He gives also† the spirited war-song of a Sioux, as written down in forty-eight pictures, which symbolize the leading ideas, and suggest the words. A chapter in the Book of Proverbs was thus written down by an Ojibbewa Indian.

As a final illustration, I add the following historic record, plate X, fig. 1, which was inscribed on a tree, by the banks of the Muskingum river, Ohio, and is published in the Archæologia, vol. vi, 1782. After the conquest of Canada, 1758-9, the Western Indians who adhered to the French interest formed a great confederacy under the celebrated chief, Pontiac, which was so well ordered and planned that they actually succeeded in taking nine out of the twelve small stockaded garrisons held by the English troops. This inscription records the achievements of the Delawares, under their chief Wingenund, in this great war. Fig. 1 is the ancient symbol of the Delaware tribe, the tortoise; 2, the totem or armorial badge of Wingenund; 3 is the sun, and the ten horizontal strokes underneath denote ten war parties; 4, men taken and scalped; 5, women's scalps; 6, male prisoners; 7, female prisoners; 8, a small fort near lake Erie taken by surprise; 9, the fort at Detroit, commanded by Major Gladwin, which resisted a siege of three months; 10 is Fort Pitt, placed at the junction of the

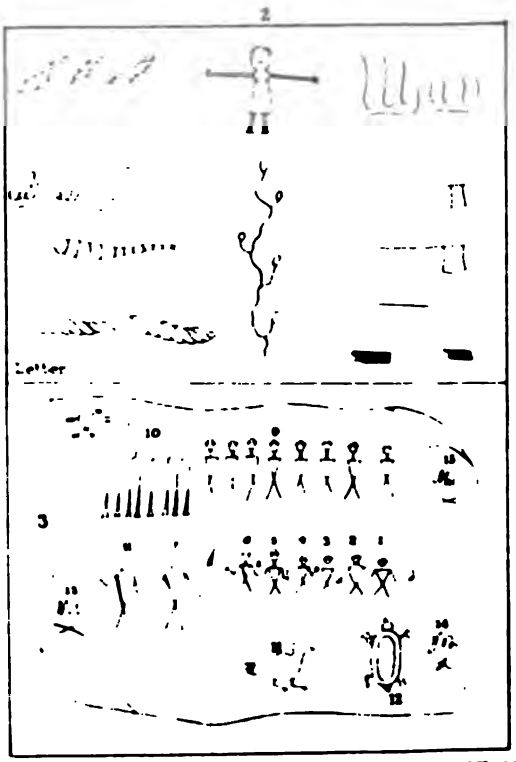
* Op. cit. Vol. ii, plate 54. † Op. cit. Vol. ii, plate 57.

1



Dacota

2




5

Chippeway

of years from the rest of mankind, they have developed a system of civilization utterly unlike any other, and their scriptorial system is as bizarre and unique as everything else about them. They claim to have possessed written characters so far back as the days of Fo-Hi, who lived 2950 years before Christ. It is certain that their writing has passed through many phases, representing long intervals of time. The first stage of which we possess any information was one in which every word that could be symbolized by a visible object was expressed by a silhouette or rude sketch filled in with black, not according to the artist's fancy, but following definite rules. These representative figures (plate XI, figs. 4 and 5) gradually become more and more simple, mere outline figures, and the forms more abridged. Thus "water," which at first was represented by a series of wavy lines over one another, came to be expressed by a single wavy line. Composite ideas, such as "a field labourer," were written by combining together a rude figure of an enclosure, which stood for "field," with another figure, an outline of the Chinese plough. "Parent" was formed by joining together the symbols for "Father" and "Mother." The act of "singing" was expressed by a mouth, placed beside a bird, which gave the notion of warbling. "Sunshine" by a sun placed above a tree, while a sun beneath a tree stood for "darkness." The sun shedding dew was "morning." An axe next a tree meant "wood-cutting." A broom, accompanied by a hand, thus denoting the supreme right to sweep the house, was the apt sign for "a married woman." They have also forward, backward, indicative and numeral signs, which are joined usually to the others. Some characters are also used phonetically, merely to express a certain sound. Thus, for such common syllables as "ki," "li," "ya," the phonetic sign for "ki" joined with that for "bird" stands for "duck," with that of a "tree" for "willow.' And so in various ways they have built

up picture-group symbols, or bunch-words, to the number of more than a hundred thousand! while, with a perverted ingenuity, they have invented so many styles of writing as to disgust and deter most foreigners from studying a language so cumbrously represented. And thus we see that the Chinese, who invented the art of printing, gunpowder, and the mariners' compass, have not yet attained to the creation of an alphabet.

Even before that far-off time to which the Chinese annalists attribute the earliest invention of their writing system, the ancient Egyptians—that wonderful race to whom our Western civilization owes so much—had already invented a complex system of picture-writing, in which, at length, sound was represented by visible symbols, and to them we must award the honourable distinction of having been the first to point the way towards the formation of a true phonetic alphabet.

They have left behind a profusion of documents in three very distinct styles of writing. The earliest of these (plate XI, figs. 2 and 3) is doubtless the hieroglyphic, from ἱερογλυφικα "sacred "sculptures." Such was the name given by the early Greek travellers, who, like Herodotus, saw the stupendous temples covered with strange characters cut in the stone. It is picture-writing in its latest stage. As found in the earliest monuments, some of which date at least 2500 years before the Christian era,* it contains several very different elements, which reveal clearly the mode by which it was gradually built up. First, there is a certain proportion of pure systematized picture characters, like early Chinese or Mexican, in which each picture is the symbol for one object or idea, and the earliest hieroglyphs contain the greatest proportion of these, as we should expect. Thus, a disc was put for "the sun," a crescent for "the moon," which, tropically, stood also for "day" and "night." An eye with tears from it signified "to weep," also "weeping," "sorrow." Two legs striding signified "walking, motion."

* Sir G. Wilkinson in Rawlinson's *Herodotus*. Vol. ii. p. 317.

A leg in a trap, "deceit." The plural was marked by repeating the object thrice. The feminine gender by a half-circle after the word. Thus, an egg signified "son," with a half-circle after it "daughter." A snake going into a hole signified "to enter," reversed it meant "to come out." Many picture symbols were used as emblems. Thus, the asp signified a "goddess;" the hawk, the god "Horus;" the jackal, "Anubis." Another class of picture characters, however, and these became at length the most numerous, were put to represent sounds only. For this purpose they drew objects whose names commenced with the sound to be written. Thus, an eagle, the Egyptians called "Akhôm." This they wrote by first drawing an eagle to represent the A; for the M they drew an owl, because it was the initial sound of "Moulag," their name for this bird; and others in like manner. Very many picture-signs were thus used phonetically, and this gave them a most extensive picture-alphabet; yet, after having written the word on this true alphabetic plan, they often added a picture of the word, if that were possible, as if to make the matter plainer. This is just the child's picture alphabet over again; the pictures were felt to be so much plainer, more direct—they spoke a universal language. We may feel assured that here we have the first step towards an arbitrary phonetic alphabet. The number of signs used varied much at different eras, but the whole number is believed to have reached nearly a thousand. The period when these, the oldest Egyptian characters, were first used is entirely unknown. They are found in the earliest of the pyramids, and had evidently been invented long before, having already assumed a cursive style for common use. This shews them to be vastly older than any other known writings. They were written usually from right to left, but also in vertical columns, like Chinese, or from left to right, according to the space to be filled; but always towards the faces of the animals.

The *Hieratic* was an abbreviated and simplified form of the old hieroglyphic, in which much of the picture-character had already disappeared, used by the priests and sacred scribes only, for writing their liturgical formulæ and funereal rolls (generally enclosed in the coffin with the mummy.) This writing contained both phonetic and symbolic signs.

The Demotic or popular style, invented about the eighth century before Christ, was a much nearer approach towards the modern alphabet. The characters are so simplified as to have lost entirely, in most cases, the pictorial character. They were also fewer in number, partly phonetic and partly arbitrary signs for words.

The arrow-headed characters, invented by the Assyrians and Babylonians, appear to have been no greater advance than the Demotic towards a true alphabet, as they consisted of several hundred distinct signs, and were perhaps only invented for the facility with which they could be cut in stone or stamped in soft clay. Nor do they appear to have had any effect in the formation of our Western alphabets. The earliest of these, from which all the rest appear to have been derived, is the ancient Greek. Homer tells us, that in his time, eight hundred years before Christ, the Greeks wrote on folding wooden tablets. Their letters bore, from very ancient times, the names of Alpha, Beta, Gamma &c., words which have no meaning in Greek. Now Hebrew literature has preserved to us an alphabet, evidently derived from phonetic hieroglyphs, every letter bearing the name of an object, and these names so closely corresponding to the Greek ones, that there cannot be a doubt one alphabetic system was derived from the other.

Thus the names and significations of these Phœnician letters (for the Jews simply adopted the writing system of their Phœnician neighbours) were as follows :—

| Original Greek Alphabet. | | Phœnician Name. | Signification. | Numeral Power in Greek. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| A | Alpha | Aleph | Ox | 1 |
| B | Beta | Beth | Tent | 2 |
| Γ | Gamma | Gimel | Camel | 3 |
| Δ | Delta | Daleth | Tent Door | 4 |
| E | Εψιλόν | He | Window | 5 |
| F | Bau | Vau | Hook | 6 |
| Z | Zeta | Zain | Weapon | 7 |
| H | Kheta | Kheth | Fence | 8 |
| Θ | Theta | Theth | Snake | 9 |
| I | Iota | Yod | Hand | 10 |
| K | Kappa | Kaph | Hollow of Hand | 20 |
| Λ | Lambda | Lamed | Ox-goad | 30 |
| M | Mu | Mem | Water | 40 |
| N | Nu | Nun | Fish | 50 |
| Ξ | Sigma | Samech | Prop | 60 |
| O | Ομικρον | Ain | Eye | 70 |
| Π | Pi | Peh | Mouth | 80 |
| Q | Koppa | Qoph | Back of Head | 90 |
| P | Rho | Rish | Head | 100 |
| Σ | San | Shin | Tooth | 200 |
| T | Tau | Tau | Cross | 300 |

The forms of the Phœnician letters have been preserved to us in numerous inscriptions and on coins, from which it is seen that they were nearly identical with the character used by the Jews on their earliest coinage. In this character it is also believed that the books of the Old Testament were at

first written, and a modified form of it has always been employed by the Samaritans in which to write their MSS. of the Pentateuch. The Phœnician letters still retained some resemblance to the objects of which they had been the picture symbols, and it is even now seen in many letters of our modern Roman alphabet, after the changes of 3000 years. Thus the ancient Greek Q and even our letter Q still preserve some resemblance to the back of the head. Our letter H still resembles "a fence," like the Phœnician Kheth H from which it is derived. Our T like the ancient Tau, is still "a cross." And O still pictures the pupil of "the eye," like the Phœnician O, from which it is derived. The Greek Οφθαλμός (ophthalmos), the Latin oculus, and the French oeil (from which our word "eye" is derived by sound) all point to the original picture symbol.

The early Greek and Roman writers generally concur in attributing the invention of their alphabets to the Phœnicians. Doubtless this most practical and enterprising race, the merchants, traders and navigators of the old world, perceiving the cumbrousness of the Egyptian system, selected certain of the simplest phonetic hieroglyphs, just sufficient to represent the most essential sounds, and thus by degrees formed their alphabet. If we take the oldest Phœnician writing yet discovered (with a date) that on an Assyrian lion weight in the British Museum, it will be seen that every letter resembles the corresponding Roman letter. (See plate XI, fig. 1.) The Assyrian inscription in arrow-headed characters reads—"The palace "of Asshur-izir-pal, supreme King, King of Assyria, one "maneh of the King." The Phœnician letters read from the right are M N H M L K = maneh melek, "one maneh "of the King." This Assyrian monarch reigned B.C. 880, and we see that the trade between the Phœnicians and Babylonians had given rise to these double inscriptions on the standard weights used; whilst our own alphabet is still trace-

able in this interesting memorial from the far East, 3000 years old!

Having thus rapidly traced the formation of our alphabetic system, it cannot fail at once to strike the reader as strange that so little has been done for 2000 years in improving this greatest of all arts. We are practically almost where the Phœnicians left us, our own alphabet being simply that of ancient Rome, itself very slightly extended from the Greek. And it is scarcely too much to say that such an alphabet is miserably insufficient, a disgrace to our advanced literary culture and resources. We have rested content with the alphabet of a nation which spoke an entirely different tongue from our own, wanting many of the commonest sounds in our language. On the one side it is so brief and badly planned as not to express one half the ordinary distinct sounds heard in speaking English. A, for instance, expresses the exact sound heard in speaking *mate*. But what about the other four sounds which are all written A, heard in *abet*, *mat*, *fall*, *father*? On the other hand the same sound is often written down in the most fantastically different ways, as in this sentence:—"Tell *Hugh* to mark with a *U* the *Ewe* that is under the *Yew* which *you* are to *hew* down to-morrow." Yet withal it contains superfluous letters, as C and Q, which have no separate sound whatever.

Mr. Schoolcraft tells of a Cherokee Indian, who, having got the idea of an alphabet in the Moravian Schools, applied it in the formation of a complete phonetic alphabet for his tribe. By seventy-six letters he was able to represent all the complex sounds of his language so well that the missionaries found they could teach the adult natives to read at once by merely teaching them these letters.

All honour to Mr. Isaac Pitman in his efforts to do the same thing for our own country. If we had an alphabet in which every sound of our language was represented by an

arbitrary character the painful labour of years would be compressed into a week. Meanwhile it is better to teach children reading, not through our arbitrary spelling, but, Chinese fashion, by a word at once. They may afterwards be taught to divide it into letters and syllables. We have seen that all writing has begun in picture drawing. Why not take a hint from this? Put a pencil into the child's hand as soon as he will scrawl. Shew him pictures—as of a horse—with the name in large letters underneath. He will soon learn the look of the word. And as he grows fonder of drawing the objects, he will try to add the name underneath. My own children have thus learned pleasantly to read, write, spell and draw at the same time.

Some excellent remarks on the imperfectness of our writing systems will be found in the presidential address of Sir William Armstrong to the British Association in 1863. He says—"While so much facility is given to mental communi-"cation by new measures and new inventions, the fundamental "art of expressing thought by written symbols remains as "imperfect now as it has been for centuries past. It seems "strange that, while we actually possess a system of shorthand "by which words can be recorded as rapidly as they can be "spoken, we should persist in writing a slow and laborious "longhand." And he proposes that shorthand should be universally taught, or at least that numerous abridgments for the more commonly recurring syllables be adopted into our common writing.

Yet we have much cause for congratulation. Not a single letter exists of an earlier date than the 14th century entirely in the handwriting of any private individual. All writing was the work of the professional scribe. The father of Shakspeare signed with a cross. And thus, if our great poet had been born one generation earlier, England would have lost its most brilliant literary heritage.

And now we conclude our sketch of the origin of this art which the Egyptians esteemed so highly as to assert that it was communicated by the god Thoth or Hermes to mankind. Certainly this, more than any other invention, raises man above the level of the brute, and confers upon our mortal race something of immortality. To the nations who possessed it was given the blessed privilege to pass on the fiery torch of knowledge from age to age, never extinguished, but ever burning brighter. Captain Sword yet desolates the world. In his train are ignorance and crime. May we see the dawn of that better day—

> When the bloodless triumphs of Captain Pen
> Shall have made a world of swordless men!

# PROCEEDINGS.

## SIXTEENTH SESSION, 1863-64.

## ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

*Free Public Library, 19th October*, 1863.

JOSEPH MAYER Esq., F.S.A., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The Secretary read the following

## REPORT.

The Council have little of special interest to report in resigning office at the close of their year of service. During the Session Eighteen Ordinary Meetings were held, with an average attendance of members; twenty-two Papers were read, and the most important of them have been placed in the hands of the printer for publication in the Annual Volume, which is expected to be ready for delivery in November. It will also be found to contain a paper contributed by the President in the preceding Session. The number of members on the roll is about the same as at the close of the last Session, as will appear by the following Table:

Comparative Account of the Numerical Strength of the Society.

| | Life. | Resident. | Non-Resident. | Lady Associates. | Total. | Honorary Members. | Gross Total. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Session XIV ..... | 57 | 183 | 152 | 2 | 394 | 26 | 420 |
| „ XV—Died or Resigned ..... | 1 | 10 | 4 | .. | 15 | 1 | 16 |
| | 56 | 173 | 148 | 2 | 379 | 25 | 404 |
| New Members ..... | 1 | 10 | 8 | .. | 19 | .. | 19 |
| | 57 | 183 | 156 | 2 | 398 | 25 | 423 |

The last meeting of the Session, on the 14th of May, was held at Mr. Mayer's Museum of Antiquities, which was again liberally thrown open by the Proprietor to the Members and their Friends, including Ladies, of whom there was a numerous attendance. In June the Annual Excursion was made, to Sefton Church and Ince-Blundell Hall, where, by the obliging permission of Thomas Weld Blundell Esq., its owner, the members, again accompanied by a numerous party of their friends of both sexes, had an opportunity of inspecting the admirable series of works of art there collected.

The usual interchange of publications with kindred Societies has been maintained, and the Society's Library steadily increases in extent and value; it will therefore be desirable that the Society should take steps, at an early period, to provide for it additional accommodation. The Museum is laid out in the Gallery of Inventions and Science and constitutes a part of that exhibition, which, on the authority of the delegates appointed by this Society to take part in its management, the Council are able to report is open to the public, and promises to be an institution of great public interest and usefulness.

The Treasurer's Balance Sheet will be presented as soon as the whole of the printing, in connection with the Annual Volume, is completed. In the meantime the Council have reason to believe there will be a satisfactory balance to the Society's credit. The current expenses have been at the ordinary rate; the only special payment being a sum of Twenty Pounds to the Assistant Secretary for extra labour, including the entire removal of the Library and Museum on two separate occasions.

The approaching celebration of the Shakspeare Tercentenary being of peculiar interest to all learned societies, the Council have appointed a Committee to confer with other Societies of the district, with a view to united action in such proceedings as may be deemed suitable. To this subject the Council invite the attention of the members generally, in the hope that it will receive from them such support as its importance demands.

In conclusion the retiring Council submit, as required by the Laws, the names of one gentleman for election to the Vice-Presidency, and of six others for the Sectional Committees, in the place of those who retire. All are likely to assist in the necessary labours it is proposed to assign to them; and all are believed to be willing, if elected, to serve.

It was moved by PETER R. McQUIE Esq., seconded by THOMAS DAWSON Esq., M.R.C.S., and resolved unanimously:—

> That the Report now read be adopted, and printed and circulated with the Proceedings of the Society.

It was moved by JOHN NEWTON Esq., M.R.C.S., seconded by EDWIN BEAN Esq., and resolved unanimously:—

> That the thanks of the Society be given to the Officers and Sectional Members of the Council for their services during the past Session.

It was moved by H. A. BRIGHT Esq., M.A., seconded by J. T. TOWSON Esq., F.R.G.S., and resolved unanimously:—

> That the thanks of the Society be given to JOSEPH MAYER Esq., Vice-President, for his reception of the members and their friends at his Museum of British and Foreign Antiquities on the 14th of May; and to T. WELD BLUNDELL Esq., for his kindness in throwing open his mansion of Ince-Blundell for the inspection of the members and others at the Annual Excursion in June last.

A ballot having been taken for the Officers and Sectional Members of Council, the result was announced from the chair. (See page iv.)

It was proposed by the Rev. A. HUME, D.C.L., Honorary Secretary, and resolved by acclamation:—

> That the cordial and special thanks of this Society be given to Lieutenant-General the Honorable Sir Edward Cust, K.C.H., D.C.L., F.R.S. &c., for his valuable services as President during the past eight years.

It was moved by PETER R. McQUIE Esq., seconded by WILLIAM TURNER Esq., Treasurer, and resolved unanimously:—

> That this meeting do now adjourn to the 3rd of December next, at Seven p.m., for the purpose of receiving the Annual Balance Sheet.

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At the adjourned Annual General Meeting held in the Free Public Library on the 3rd of December, 1863, the Volume being still unfinished, a further adjournment took place to the 4th of August, 1864, when the following Statement of Accounts for the year ending 18th October, 1863, was submitted by the Treasurer.

THE HISTORIC SOCIETY OF LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE *in account with* WILLIAM BURKE, *Treasurer*.

*Dr.* | *Cr.*

| | £ | s. | d. | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I.—THE VOLUMES:— | | | | | | |
| Balance delivery Vol. II, N.S., and various early Volumes | 2 | 7 | 8 | | | |
| Printing and binding Vol. III, N.S. | 99 | 14 | 3 | | | |
| Illustrations, ditto | 19 | 5 | 0 | | | |
| Delivery | 6 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| | | | | 127 | 6 | 11 |
| II.—SESSIONAL EXPENSES:— | | | | | | |
| Printing Circulars &c. | 8 | 9 | 0 | | | |
| Stationery | 7 | 2 | 5 | | | |
| Insurance | 1 | 10 | 0 | | | |
| Postage Stamps | 9 | 16 | 2 | | | |
| Refreshments at meetings | 8 | 1 | 0 | | | |
| Advertisements, delivering circulars, messages and parcels, miscellaneous | 12 | 15 | 0 | | | |
| Commission to Collector | 6 | 2 | 6 | | | |
| Assistant Secretary | 50 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| | | | | 103 | 15 | 11 |
| III.—PERMANENT INVESTMENTS:— | | | | | | |
| Papering, colouring, painting and gilding Museum cases | 5 | 4 | 2 | | | |
| Books purchased for the Library | 2 | 1 | 9 | | | |
| Books bound for ditto | 9 | 4 | 0 | | | |
| | | | | 16 | 9 | 11 |
| IV.—SPECIAL EXPENSES:— | | | | | | |
| Assistant Secretary | 20 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| Disbursements at Excursion | 4 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| | | | | 24 | 0 | 0 |
| Balance in Treasurer's hands | | | | 19 | 0 | 5 |
| | | | | £290 | 13 | 2 |

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| By Balance from last Account, Session xiv | 33 | 14 | 7 |
| By Receipts in Session xv, viz:— | | | |
| Arrears | 19 | 8 | 6 |
| Entrance Fees, Session xv | 7 | 17 | 6 |
| Annual Subscriptions, ditto | 207 | 7 | 6 |
| Ditto (in advance) | 0 | 10 | 6 |
| Life Compositions | 5 | 5 | 0 |
| Books and book-covers sold | 13 | 6 | 7 |
| Removal Fund; towards book-case purchased | 3 | 3 | 0 |
| | £290 | 13 | 2 |
| Balance down | £19 | 0 | 5 |

Examined by
PETER R. McQUIE,
SAM. GATH,
} AUDITORS.

(E. and O. E.)
*Liverpool, 31st May*, 1864.
WILLIAM BURKE.

It was moved by THOMAS DAWSON Esq., seconded by PETER R. McQUIE Esq., and resolved unanimously,—

That the Treasurer's Statement of Accounts be passed, and printed and circulated with the Proceedings of the Society.

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*5th November*, 1863. ARCHÆOLOGICAL SECTION.

THOMAS DAWSON Esq. in the Chair.

The following gentlemen were duly elected ordinary members of the Society:—

George Eastee, 6, Harrington Street.
Thomas Gibson, 37, Oxford Street.
John Thomson King, Clayton Square.

The following donations were presented :—

From the Society of Antiquaries.
Archæologia, vol. xxxix, part I.

From the Author.
Annals of the Wars of the Nineteenth Century, 1801-15, vols. I to IV, by the Hon. Sir Edward Cust, K.C.H., Lieut.-General in the British Army.

From the Author.
Ancient Meols; or some Account of the Antiquities found near Dove Point, on the sea-coast of Cheshire, by the Rev. A. Hume, LL.D. &c., large paper 8vo.

The following objects of interest were exhibited :—

By Mr. F. J. Jeffery.
A postage-stamp Album, containing several hundred stamps of various countries throughout the world.

By the Rev. Dr. Hume.
1. An Andrea Ferrara, the property of Mr. Bowker. It was formerly in the collection at Bewsey Hall, and bears a label recording that this sword was taken from one of king James's guards at the battle of Flodden.
2. A key, belonging to Miss Atherton. It is more than 110 years old, and resembles some of those figured in Dr. Hume's recently published account of the Hoylake antiquities.

By Mr. Newton.
1. A copy of Archbishop Cranmer's Twelve Homilies, dated 1547, in the original binding. The fly-leaves consist of fragments of a still earlier publication from the press of Caxton.
2. Two scarce Commonwealth Tracts, in both of which Liverpool is referred to; in one as "Larpoole."

By the Chairman.
1. Various pamphlets, either published in Liverpool or otherwise locally interesting.
2. Several prints and photographs.

The following Paper was read :—

On the Early History of the Cathedrals and Abbeys of England, *by Nicholas Waterhouse Esq.*

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12*th November*, 1863. LITERARY SECTION.

J. T. Towson Esq., F.R.G.S., in the Chair.

The following donations were presented :—

From the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
Annual Report of the Board of Regents, 1861.

From the Philological Society.
Transactions, 1862-3, part I.

From the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society.
Memoirs, vol. I, third series.

From the Author.
Chart of the History of Architecture, and The Course and Current of Architecture, a volume designed as a companion to the Chart. By Samuel Huggins.

The following objects of interest were exhibited:—

By the Rev. Dr. Hume.
1. Two volumes of Schoolcraft's Archives of Aboriginal Information, a work in six volumes on the subject of the American Indians. It is copiously illustrated; and was published by the Government of the United States.
2. Eight gold nuggets, nearly pure, from Nelson, New Zealand.
3. Two rings of Ballaarat gold; one, unusually massive, had been used as a "knuckle-duster."
4. A Russian walking-stick, curiously carved and unusually light.
5. A stick said to have been cut from the tea-plant.
6. A Chinese carving, in form of a grotesque bird sitting on its nest.

By Mr. J. R. Hughes.
1. A bronze spear-head.
2. A quern.

Both these objects were from Anglesey; the spear-head had been found amidst the remains of an extinct forest, about six feet below the present surface.

By Mr. J. H. Gibson.
1. A large Turquoise ring, with silver setting, presented to an Englishman by a native African chief.
2. Barrett's Astrology, quarto, 1801.
3. Barclay's "Ship of Fooles" and the "Mirrour of Good Maners," in one vol. quarto, with woodcut illustrations.

By Mr. Burke.
A sample of wheat, charred as if by fire, lately found at the Roman Station near Cockermouth, during some excavations for building.

The following Paper was read:—

On the Medallic History of Napoleon I,* *by Frederick J. Jeffery Esq.*

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19*th November*, 1863. SCIENTIFIC SECTION.

George Mansfield Browne Esq. in the Chair.

The following donations were presented:—

From the Geological Society of London.
Quarterly Journal, Nos. 74 to 76.

* Transactions p. 89.

From Mr. J. R. Hughes.

"Traethawd o'r Cristionagaidd Wirionedd," 1 vol. octavo; being a translation into Welsh by the Rev. Hugh Owen, B.A., of a recent English theological work.

From the respective Authors.

1. Report to the Health Committee of the Borough of Liverpool on the Sewerage, Paving, Cleansing and other works under the Sanitary Act from 1856 to 1862 inclusive, by James Newlands, C.E., Borough Engineer, Local Surveyor under the Sanitary Act, Liverpool, 1863.
2. Practical Information on the Deviation of the Compass for the use of the Masters and Mates of Iron Ships, by J. T. Towson, F.R.G.S. &c. 1863.
3. Report of Lieut.-Col. J. D. Graham, U.S. Topographical Engineers, on Mason and Dixon's line, 1862.
4. Gaseous Exhalations and Miasmata as Causes of Nuisance and Disease. Correspondence between Professor Hamilton and Dr. Inman, read before the Chemists' Association, 8th October, 1863, by Nathan Mercer, F.C.S.

The following objects of interest were exhibited:—

By Mr. F. J. Jeffery.

A five-cent note of the State bank of South Carolina, dated Feb. 1st, 1863, payable "in current funds."

By Mr. James Wright.

A specimen of embroidery in coloured grasses, the work of the Chippeway Indians.

By the Rev. Dr. Hume.

An autograph signature of Frederic VII, late king of Denmark.

By Mr. Towson.

An extensive collection of Ferns from various parts of the world.

The following Paper was read:—

On Ferns; their Allies, Varieties and Propagation, *by J. T. Towson Esq., F.R.G.S.*

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*3rd December*, 1863. ARCHÆOLOGICAL SECTION.

William Mathison Esq. in the Chair.

The following gentlemen were duly elected ordinary members of the Society:—

William Mercer, Newton-le-Willows.
Adolphus Moubert, Garswood Ashton, Warrington.
Chapple Gill, Gateacre.
Benjamin Dennison Naylor, Altrincham, Manchester.
D. J. Rhodocanakis, Manchester.
Charles Barrow, 54, Tower buildings.

Rev. J. Herbert-Jones, M.A., Everton Road.
George Scott, 53, Burlington street, Greenheys, Manchester.

The following donations were presented:—

From the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.
Proceedings, vol. iv, part I.

From the Sussex Archæological Society.
Sussex Archæological Collections, vol. xv.

From the Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society.
Proceedings, 1861-62.

From the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society.
Original Papers, vol. vi, part 3.

From Morris Charles Jones, Esq.
A Bond of Indemnity, dated 21st March, 32 Eliz. (1590), given by John Bradney to Richard Bradley.

The following objects of interest were exhibited:—

By the Rev. Dr. Hume.
1. A wood carving of one of the gods of the aborigines of New Zealand.
2. The figure-head of a prahu, consisting of two grotesque images, also carved in wood by the natives of New Zealand.

By Mr. Thomas Dawson.
Various pamphlets printed in or referring to Liverpool, including a copy of the original edition of Roscoe's poem, "Mount Pleasant," dated 1777, with an autograph inscription by the Author.

By Mr. Forrest.
Numerous specimens of photography on opal glass, in illustration of his Paper.

The following Paper was read:—

PHOTOGRAPHY ON OPAL GLASS, WITH ILLUSTRATIONS AND EXPERIMENTS, *by J. A. Forrest Esq.*

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10*th December*, 1863. LITERARY SECTION.

NICHOLAS WATERHOUSE Esq. in the Chair.

The following donations were presented:—

From the Statistical Society.
Journal, vol. xxvi, parts 2 and 3.

From the Numismatic Society.
Numismatic Chronicle, N.S. Nos. X and XI.

From the Author.
Caution in Religious Enquiry; a Sermon preached in Liverpool before the Judges of Assize, 22nd March, 1863, by the Rev. A. Hume, D.C.L., LL.D. &c., Chaplain to the High Sheriff of Lancashire.

From Mr. H. S. Fisher.
The Naturalists' Scrap-Book, part 8.

The following objects of interest were exhibited :—

By Mr. F. J. Jeffery.
Various specimens of Chinese and Arabic writing.

By the Rev. Dr. Ginsburg.
1. A copy of the first edition of Luther's Translation of the Pentateuch, dated 1524, with Illustrations by Albert Dürer.
2. An illuminated vellum M.S. Hebrew prayer-book of the fifteenth century.
3. A Hebrew Bible and Syriac New Testament, very small, printed about 1572.

By Mr. Newton in illustration of his Paper.
Numerous diagrams, MSS and early printed books; including ancient Egyptian and Coptic MSS written on papyrus; a Burmese book written on the leaves of the talipot-tree; a Hebrew synagogue-roll; numerous missals, horæ and bibles, beautifully illuminated and written on vellum; an ancient Greek letter on an earthenware slab; an Assyrian brick, covered with arrow-headed characters; an ancient Mexican MS and other objects, principally from the collection of Joseph Mayer Esq., Vice-President.

The following Paper was read :—

On the Art of Writing: a Chapter in the History of Human Progress,* *by John Newton Esq., M.R.C.S.*

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17*th December*, 1863. SCIENTIFIC SECTION.

Thomas Dawson Esq., M.R.C.S., in the Chair.

The following donations were presented :—

From the Royal Asiatic Society.
Journal, vol. xx, part 2.

From the Royal Society of Literature
Transactions, vol. vii, part 3.

From the Liverpool Philomathic Society.
Proceedings, 1862-63, vol. viii.

From Major Greig.
Report on the Police Establishment and the State of Crime in Liverpool for the year ending 30th September, 1863.

The following objects of interest were exhibited :—

By Mr. H. Ecroyd Smith.
Some remarkable oological finds in the Liverpool district, viz., eggs of the ring-ouzel, the first recorded here, and the night-jar and ring-dotterel; also a nest, one of two found within a fortnight near Formby, each containing two eggs of the cuckoo.

* Transactions, p. 291.

By Mr. Stonehouse.
Two books of diagrams illustrating the uses of a Chinese puzzle, also exhibited.

By Mr. Birkenhead.
1. Agricola de rê Metallicâ.
2. Various casts and other objects, illustrative of his Paper.

The following Paper was read:—

On the New Red Sandstone Formation, *by E. H. Birkenhead, Br. Sc., F.G.S.*

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*7th January*, 1864. ARCHÆOLOGICAL SECTION.

John F. Marsh Esq. in the Chair.

The following donations were presented:—

From the Kent Archæological Society.
Archæologia Cantiana, vols. i and iv.

From the Kilkenny and S.E. of Ireland Archæological Society.
Proceedings and Papers, vol. iv, N. S., Nos. 39 to 41.

From the Author.
Further Researches in an Anglo-Saxon Burial Ground at Long Wittenham, Berkshire, in the Summer of 1860. By John Yonge Akerman Esq., F.S.A.

From the Author.
Genealogical Chart, shewing the right of the present King to the throne of Denmark, and the claim of the Duke of Augustenburg to the Duchy of Schleswig-Holstein. By Frederick John Jeffery.

The following objects of interest were exhibited:—

By the Chairman.
Numerous works from his private collection, forming an illustration of the art of book-binding; they included copies, respectively, of Martin Luther's German Bible, folio, Luneburg, 1684.
Theatrum Diabolorum, folio, Frankfort, 1587.
Homeri Ulyssea, Batrachomyomachia, Hymni xxxii, 4to., Lovan, 1523.
Rime e Prosa di Tasso, 4 vols. 12mo, Ferrara, 1585—9, from Heber's Library, all in different, but uniform bindings.
Poem on the Union of the Imperial Crowns of Great Britain, folio, London, 1702; and Poem on the Union of the two East India Companies, folio, London, 1707, both by Elkanah Settle, the City Poet.
Shadwell's Psyche, 4to, London, 1675.
Coulon—Lexicon Homericum, 8vo, Paris, 1643.
Hawkey's edition of Horace, large paper, 8vo, Dublin, 1745.
Howard's collection of Apophthegms and Maxims, 8vo, Dublin, 1767. Dedication copy to the King and Queen, with the royal cypher in the corners.

Andreini. L'Adamo, 4to, Milan, 1617.
Terracon's Dissertation upon Homer, large paper, 8vo, London, 1722.
Boyle's Motives and Incentives to the Love of God, 8vo, London, 1659.

The following Paper was read :—

ON THE SELECT NATURE AND STRUCTURE OF THE ENGLISH TONGUE,* *by the late John Just Esq.*

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*14th January*, 1864. LITERARY SECTION.

T. T. WILKINSON Esq., F.R.A.S., in the Chair.

The following gentlemen were duly elected ordinary members of the Society :—

Thomas E. Priest, Clarendon Rooms, South John street.
William Sharp, 17, Brunswick street.

The following donations were presented :—

From the Statistical Society.
Journal, vol. xxvi, parts 2, 3 and 4.
General Index, vols. xvi to xxv.

From the Geological and Polytechnic Society of the West Riding of Yorkshire.
Report, 1862.

From the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society.
Annual Reports for 1856-57, 1859-60 and 1862-3.

From the Author.
The Patent Question : a Solution of Difficulties by abolishing or shortening the Inventor's Monopoly, and instituting National Recompenses. A Paper submitted to the congress of the Association for the promotion of Social Science, at Edinburgh, October, 1863, by Robert Andrew Macfie, President of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce. Translations of Earnest Contributions to Patent Reform, by M. Chevalier and other Continental Economists, Pamphlet, 1863.

From the Executors of the late Miss Gildart.
A bust of Lieut.-General the Hon. Sir Edward Cust, K.C.H., F.R.S., D.C.L. &c., late President of the Society.

The following objects of interest were exhibited :—

By Mr. James Wright.
1. Photogram of a group of objects, chiefly pottery, found at Uriconium.
2. Photogram of an inscribed stone from the same site.

By Mr. Samuel R. Townshend.
A Chinese Umbrella of superior design and workmanship, displaying elaborate characteristic ornamentation.

* Transactions, p. 177.

By the Rev. Dr. Hume.

1. An object recently dug out in excavating at Shaw's Alley, near the docks, at a depth of about sixteen feet, among clay and sand; it is rather more than a foot in length, and is supposed to be the upper fragment of a dirk or small sword.
2. A Copy of Domesday Book extended and translated; Cheshire and Lancashire. With an Introduction and Notes by William Beamont Esq., Warrington.

The following Paper was read:—

On the Introduced Plants of the District around Liverpool, *by Mr. H. S. Fisher.*

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21*st January*, 1864. SCIENTIFIC SECTION.

Nicholas Waterhouse Esq. in the Chair.

The following donations were presented:—

From the Royal Astronomical Society.
Memoirs, vol. xxxi, Session 1861-62.

From the Royal Society of Edinburgh.
1. Transactions, vol. xxiii, part 2.
2. Proceedings, 1862-63.

From the Geological Society of Dublin.
Journal, vol. x, part 1.

From the Liverpool Chemists' Association.
Transactions, Laws, Bye-Laws &c., for 1862-63.

The following objects of interest were exhibited:—

By Mr. J. H. Weightman.
The hilt and upper portion of a dress sword, encrusted with sandstone and pebbles, said to have been brought up from the wreck of the Royal George.

By Mr. Bell Williams.
Two oil-paintings supposed to be portraits of James II and his queen, Mary of Modena.

By Mr. Fabert.
1. Photographic Sketches of a vessel called the *Edwin and Lizzie*, taken in one of the Sandon graving docks, shewing the nature of an injury to the ship's stem.
2. An extract from the log, giving an account of the circumstances of the accident, by a blow from the tail of a whale, on the vessel's homeward passage from Prince Edward's Island, on the 11th of October, 1863.
3. A fragment of the main stem, shewing the force of the blow, three one-inch bolts having been beat round by it.

By Mr. Mackie on behalf of the inventor, Mr. McIver, Edinburgh.
A machine recently invented, which, by means of the air-pump, veneers all varieties of wood-mouldings, known as "shapework."

By Mr. Stonehouse.
An Atlas of about the time of George I.

By Mr. Towson.
A diagram, shewing the action of the recent explosion of gunpowder on board the *Lotty Sleigh* upon the self-registering barometer at the Liverpool Observatory.

The following Paper was read :—

On the Study of Geography, *by Bell Williams Esq.*

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*4th February*, 1864. ARCHÆOLOGICAL SECTION.

Albert J. Mott Esq. in the Chair.

Sir Charles Tilston Bright, C.E., was duly elected an ordinary member of the Society.

The following donations were presented :—

From the Royal Institution of Cornwall.
Reports, Nos. 20 to 28, 30 to 43 and 45.

From the Royal Cornwall Polytechnic Society.
Reports from 1835 to 1861, Nos. 3 to 29.

From the Rev. Dr. Hume.
Report of an important Meeting held at Liverpool, 13th January, 1864, in support of the South American Missionary Society.

The following objects of interest were exhibited :—

By the Rev. Dr. Hume.
Two knives from Bonny, both in one sheath, the material of which was wood, secured by narrow iron bands.

By Mr. J. H. Gibson.
1. A remarkable sword called "parang-ilang," curiously marked with copper studs and being flat on one side and round on the other. It is from Borneo; and has a wood or cane sheath.
2. Various broadside ballads referring to Robin Hood: two broadside ballads; one, a version of Chevy Chase, the other, a parody of it, describing the battle of Oudenarde.
3. Two London playbills, shewing that gas was first used at a London Theatre on the 17th August, 1817.
4. Partridge's Almanac, 1705.

By Mr. H. Ecroyd Smith.
1. A Roman brooch of circular shape, lately found in a cottage-garden at Wroxeter.
2. From the same locality, several brass coins; two of them plated with silver, and intended, like the Prussian silber-groschen and other similar modern pieces to pass as tokens of more than their intrinsic value. These coins were of Geta, Severus, Alexander, Carausius and Constantine the Great.

3. From, Leasowe (Ancient Meols) three brooches in lead; one, from two to three inches in diameter, of wheel-pattern; the other two are lozenge-shaped, the pin, which forms a diagonal, being attached to a small cross-bar. Also, a large pin or skewer, with a moveable ring at the top and ornamented with three crosses; a fermail complete, with tongue; and an English silver penny of the reign of Henry II or III. The brooches date from the 12th to the 15th century.

By Mr. Thomas Gibson.

An ancient wood carving, illustrating the legend told of the foundation of Holyrood Abbey.

By Mr. Newton.

1. Four Puritan Tracts, entitled, severally, 'A Fanatic's Alarm, Address, Tract and Testimony, by Henry Adis, dated 1660.
2. A treatise on Crimes and Punishments, including various methods of torture and instructions how to inflict it, 1554.

The Rev. Dr. Hume, Honorary Secretary, drew attention to the recent disastrous fire at Santiago; and mentioned some phenomena said to have occurred at it.

Mr. H. Ecroyd Smith, Curator of the Society's Museum, explained the circumstances connected with the finding of human remains by some workmen engaged at the Leasowe embankment. He had obtained permission, on behalf of the Society, to remove the remains, but this had subsequently been withdrawn.

The following Paper was read:—

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE PAMPHLET LITERATURE OF LIVERPOOL. Part I, Serial Publications, *by Thomas Dawson Esq., M.R.C.S.*

The author, after adverting to the illustration of the more minute points of interest in local or general history afforded by pamphlets, accounted for their paucity in regard to Liverpool as resulting from the intense activity of the whole community in the pursuits of business ever since the comparatively recent rise of the town. How absorbing must the pursuit of wealth have been throughout the period of scarcely one hundred and fifty years, the limit within which that progress has been made! In the early part of the last century, when the first dock was opened, Liverpool possessed but one square-rigged ship to go into it. The pamphlets relating to Liverpool may be classed under three leading heads characteristic of the epochs of the town's history—1st, the trade with Spanish America; 2nd, the African trade; 3rd the great Cotton trade, which exists to our own time. These include many very valuable contributions from distinguished Liverpool men. Mr. Dawson proceeded to give an account in detail of the serial publications in his collection, the whole of them being exhibited at the same time.

## 11*th February*, 1864. LITERARY SECTION.

GEORGE ARTINGSTALL Esq., of Warrington, in the Chair.

The following gentlemen were duly elected ordinary members of the Society :—

John Hussey, Church street, Birkenhead.
Charles Rowe, Elm house, Anfield.

The following donations were presented :—

From the Royal Society.
Proceedings, Nos. 55 to 60.

From the Royal Asiatic Society.
Journal, vol. xx, Nos. 3 and 4.

From the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
Catalogue of the Library belonging to the Society, inclusive of MSS., Drawings, Prints and Maps.

From Mr. H. S. Fisher.
The Naturalist's Scrap-Book, Nos. 7 to 10.

The following objects of interest were exhibited :—

1. Jerusalem explored : being a description of the ancient and modern city, with upwards of 100 illustrations, by Ermete Pierotti, architect-engineer to His Excellency Surraya Pasha of Jerusalem.
2. Martin and Trübner's Current Gold and Silver Coins of all Nations.

By Mr. Newton.
Chronicon Nurembergense, a black-letter folio with above two thousand wood-cut illustrations by Wolgemuth, the master of Albert Dürer, dated 1493.

By Mr. J. R. Hughes.
A parchment scroll containing various sentences in Latin, Greek and Hebrew, the work of an itinerant scholar named Dick Aberdaron, a Welshman formerly well known in and about Liverpool.

By the Rev. Dr. Hume.
A curious bronze object, about two inches in diameter, the use of which is unknown.

The Honorary Secretary read a communication from Sir Edward Cust, intimating that the skeleton lately found beneath the sand-hill at Leasowe had been forwarded to the Royal College of Surgeons, London.

The following Paper was read :—

ON THE INFLUENCE OF PESTALOZZI IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION, *by the Rev. Hermann Baar, Ph.Dr.*

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## 18*th February*, 1864. SCIENTIFIC SECTION.

WILLIAM BURKE Esq., Treasurer, in the Chair.

The following donations were presented :—

From the Royal Geographical Society.
1. Journal, vol. xxxii.
2. Proceedings, vol. vii, Nos. 3, 4 and 5.

From the Geological Society.
Quarterly Journal, No. 77.

From the Royal Dublin Society.
Journal, Nos. xxix and xxx.

From J. T. Towson Esq.
A printed copy of "A Discourse on the Origin and Vicissitudes of "Literature, Science and Art, and their Influence on the present "State of Society," delivered on the opening of the Liverpool Royal Institution, 25th November, 1817, by William Roscoe Esq.

The Rev. Dr. Hume exhibited a very fine specimen of Malachite copper, from the country of the Makols in South Africa.

Mr. Towson performed various experiments illustrating the effect of salts in preventing the combustion of muslin and other similar fabrics used in the attire of actresses &c., and strongly advocated the rendering of such substances uninflammable by the manufacturers before issuing them to the Trade.

The following Paper was read :—

ON THE ENGLISH POOR-LAWS, WITH SOME SUGGESTIONS FOR THEIR AMENDMENT,* *by William Rees Esq.*

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## 3*rd March*, 1864. ARCHÆOLOGICAL SECTION.

JOHN THOMAS TOWSON Esq., F.R.G.S., in the Chair.

Mr. John Davies, Jun., 4, Church Street, Edge-hill, was duly elected an ordinary member of the Society.

The following donations were presented :—

From the Société Archéologique de l'Orléanais.
Bulletin, No. 42.

From the Suffolk Institute of Archæology, Statistics and Natural History.
Proceedings, vol. iii, No. 3.

From the Leicestershire Architectural and Archæological Society.
Transactions, vol. i, part 2.

From T. T. Wilkinson, F.R.A.S.
The Lady's and Gentlemen's Diary, 1864.

* Transactions, p. 31.

The following objects of interest were exhibited :—

By Mr. J. H. Gibson.

1. A series of about eighty silver English coins, from Harold II to the present reign, including three mintages of Henry VIII, a rare type of his second mintage and a Wolsey half-groat; crowns of Car. I, of different mintages, and a coin of the Aberystwith mint of the same reign; examples of all the small denominations of Elizabeth, and fine specimens of the first three Georges and Victoria, including the Gothic crown of 1847.
2. A queen Anne's farthing dated 1713.

By Mr. Newton.

A new work by Reiss of Vienna, in which the beautiful illuminated miniatures of the middle ages are successfully imitated.

The death of Colonel Sir William Brown, Bart., one of the Vice-Presidents of the Society, having been announced by the Secretary, it was unanimously resolved, on the motion of WILLIAM BURKE Esq., Treasurer, seconded by J. A. FORREST Esq.,

That this Meeting has heard with deep regret of the loss which the Society has sustained by the death of Sir William Brown, and takes this opportunity, the earliest which presents itself, to express on behalf of the members the high estimate they entertain of his valuable aid to general intellectual inquiry in Liverpool; and especially of his services towards this Society.

On the suggestion of NICHOLAS WATERHOUSE Esq., it was ordered,

That a copy of the foregoing Resolution be forwarded to Sir William Richmond Brown, Bart.

It was moved by the CHAIRMAN, seconded by THOMAS DAWSON Esq., and resolved—

That the Treasurer and Honorary Secretary, with Messrs. Dawson and Forrest, be appointed a Committee to carry out the wish of the Meeting that the Society do attend Sir William Brown's Funeral, either in a body or by a deputation.

The following Paper was read :—

ON THE ART-BEARINGS OF PHOTOGRAPHY,* *by Mr. John Glover.*

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*10th March*, 1864. LITERARY SECTION.

WILLIAM MATHISON Esq. in the Chair.

The following donations were presented :—

From the Philosophical and Literary Society of Leeds.

The Physical Condition of the People in its bearing on their Social and Moral Welfare: by the Right Rev. R. Bickersteth, D.D., F.R.S. &c., Lord Bishop of Ripon.

From the Author.

Report on the Health of Liverpool during the year 1863, by W. S. Trench, M.D., Medical Officer of Health for the Borough.

* Transactions, p. 78.

From Mr. H. S. Fisher.
The Naturalists' Scrap-Book, Part 11.

From the Author.
The Uses of Discussion, by J. T. Danson.

From Mr. Burke.
Varus: a Tragedy, by Thomas Hugo.

The following objects of interest were exhibited:—

By the Chairman.

1. Two specimens of Persian pottery of about the sixteenth century.
2. A piece of Limoges enamel, by J. Laudin, about 1680.
3. A Mug dated 1660, bearing a rude portrait of King Charles II, initials and the motto, "Be mery and wise."
4. A small circular two-handled dish with deeply fluted sides; apparently English of the seventeenth century.

By Mr. T. B. Robson, through Mr. Ecroyd Smith.

A fine male specimen of *Bombycilla garrula*, the Bohemian Chatterer or Waxwing, one of the handsomest of British birds, but only an occasional visitant in mid-winter. It is fourteen years since it was noticed here; and, until last month, has not been recorded as seen in the Liverpool district, when two appeared at Moreton; one of them was shot, and the present specimen is thought to be its companion. It was cleverly captured by the gardener in Mr. Robson's grounds at Liscard Vale, Cheshire, a fortnight ago. Mr. Smith communicated an interesting summary of the several appearances and known habits of this beautiful arctic bird.

By Mr. F. J. Jeffery.

A proof-copy of his genealogical chart of the Oldenburg family, as enlarged for a second edition.

By Mr. T. Dawson.

The *Courier* newspaper for the 22nd and 29th of September, 1830, containing accounts of the opening of the Manchester and Liverpool Railway, and the death and funeral of Mr. Huskisson.

By the Rev. Dr. Hume.

A cap worn by the person next in rank to the king amongst the Makols in South Africa.

The following Paper was read:—

On the Pamphlet-Literature of Liverpool, Part II, *by Thomas Dawson Esq., M.R.C.S.*

Reverting to the First Part, on the serial publications from time to time published, but which had all perished in their nonage, the author expressed regret that so many efforts to make Liverpool the home of a periodical literature of her own should have been untimely frustrated, and hoped that in the good time coming this reproach would cease. Amongst the local publications exhibited, Mr. Dawson drew attention to thirty-nine Guides to Liverpool, extending from Moss's "Survey," 1784, to those of the present day, including the entire series of Kaye's

"Stranger in Liverpool." It was remarked that the first pamphlet (1710) book (1712) and library (1715) known to have belonged to Liverpool, were all of a sacred character. The pamphlet thus referred to is a sermon preached in Saint Peter's church, and a copy was handed round for inspection; it was the first of an extensive series collected by the author, those published in the ninety following years being also exhibited. They include a sermon on the death of queen Anne, 1714; the first grand oratorio (Messiah) performed in Liverpool, at St. Peter's Church; an account of the first balloon ascent here, by Lunardi, 1785; and the earliest known Liverpool poll-book, 1784.

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*17th March*, 1864. SCIENTIFIC SECTION.

GEORGE MANSFIELD BROWNE Esq. in the Chair.

The following donations were presented:—

From the Royal Society.
Proceedings, vol. xiii, No. 61.

From the Royal Geographical Society.
Proceedings, vol. viii, No. 2.

From the Liverpool Architectural and Archæological Society.
Proceedings, fourteenth Session, 1861-62.

From the Liverpool Literary and Philosophical Society.
Proceedings during the fifty-second Session, 1862-63, No. xvii.

The following objects of interest were exhibited:—

By the Chairman, on behalf of Mrs. Bury.
Photograms, from drawings by Mrs. Bury, of various specimens of polycystina collected from Barbadoes earth.

By Mr. J. H. Gibson.
1. An Act of Parliament, passed in 1767, authorizing the Corporation of Liverpool, to expend in the building and decoration of St. Paul's church a sum not exceeding £4,000; and £3,500 for building and furnishing the church of St. John.
2. Cromwellania; a collection of engraved portraits of the memorable persons of the Commonwealth.

By Mr. Buxton.
A copy of the Observer newspaper, dated 22nd July, 1821, containing a detailed and illustrated report of the coronation of George IV, including the conversation between Lord Hood, who demanded admission for queen Caroline, and the door-keeper who refused it.

[In consequence of the sudden indisposition of the Rev. Mr. Mellor, his Paper on the Monumental Brasses of England was postponed to a future meeting.]

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*14th April*, 1864. SCIENTIFIC SECTION.

NICHOLAS WATERHOUSE Esq. in the Chair.

Mr. Thomas Haughton, Head Master of the Liverpool Blue Coat Hospital, was duly elected an ordinary member of the Society.

The following donations were presented :—

From the Royal Society.
Proceedings, vol. xiii, No. 62.

From C. Roach Smith Esq.
1. Une monnaie d'Anholt, par R. Chalon.
2. Les plus anciens Jetons du Magistrat de Bruxelles, par R. Chalon.
3. The principles of Agriculture, by William Bland.

From the Statistical Society.
Journal, vol. xxvii, part 1.

From the late M. Boucher de Perthes.
L'Abbevillois French newspaper, two copies, dated respectively the 15th of May and the 20th of August, 1863.

The following Paper was read :—

On the Moral Ideals of Shakspeare,* *by the Rev. Hermann Baar, Ph.Dr.*

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*3rd May*, 1864. ARCHÆOLOGICAL SECTION.

Peter R. McQuie Esq. in the Chair.

The following gentlemen were duly elected ordinary members of the Society :—

James Richardson Jun., 4, Cook street.
John Dockray Waterhouse, 1, Oldhall street.

The following donations were presented :—

From the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.
Proceedings, vol. iv, part II.

From the London and Middlesex Archæological Society.
Transactions, vol. ii, part 5.

From the Kilkenny and S. E. of Ireland Archæological Society.
Proceedings and Papers, vol. iv., N.S., No. 42.

From Mr. F. J. Jeffery.
1. Lectures on Nonconformity by the late Rev. Samuel Saunders, Minister of Byrom Street Chapel, Liverpool, with a brief Memoir of the Author.
2. Enlarged Genealogical Chart, shewing all the branches of the House of Oldenburg, commonly called Schleswig-Holstein, now living and occupying the thrones of Denmark, Russia, Oldenburg and Greece, and formerly those of Sweden and Norway, by Frederick John Jeffery.

The following objects of interest were exhibited :—

By Mr. A. Holden.
A Latin Primer, printed at Messina in 1631.

* Transactions, p. 149.

By Mr. J. G. Jacob.
1. A piece of Embroidery of the time of Charles I.
2. Two books dated 1523 and 1678 respectively, and Æsop's Fables, illustrated, 1601.
3. Two hand-screens carved by a Negro in South Carolina.

By Mr. J. J. Hall.
An illuminated black-letter folio edition of De Lyra, dated 1482.

By Mr. Stonehouse, for Mr. Musker, Walton.
A collection of brass-rubbings from Churches in Lancashire and Cheshire.

By the Rev. George B. Mellor.
A series of rubbings from English monumental brasses.

The following Paper was read:—

On the Monumental Brasses of England, *by the Rev. George B. Mellor*.

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12*th May*, 1864. LITERARY SECTION.

Peter R. M'Quie Esq. in the Chair.

The following donations were presented:—

From the Royal Society.
Proceedings, vol. xiii, No. 63.

From the Royal Geographical Society.
Proceedings, vol. viii, No. 3.

From the Society of Arts.
Journal, Nos. 543 to 598.

From the Geological Society.
Journal, vol. xx, part 2.

From the Royal Institution of Cornwall.
Journal and Forty-sixth Annual Report.

From the Surrey Archæological Society.
Collections, vol. ii, part 3.

From the Manchester and Liverpool Agricultural Society.
Journal, 1864.

From W. Winkley, Esq.
Addenda to "Documents relating to the Winkley Family."

From Llewellyn Jewitt, F.S.A.
The Reliquary, vol. iii, Nos. 12 and 13.

From the Kilkenny and S.E. of Ireland Archæological Society.
Proceedings and Papers, vol. iv, N.S., No. 43.

From Mr. H. S. Fisher.
The Naturalists' Scrap-Book, Nos. 12 to 14.

From the Author.
Notes respecting the family of Waldo, by Morris Charles Jones, Esq.

From the Author.

Results of the Irish Census of 1861, with a special reference to the condition of the church in Ireland, by the Rev. A. Hume, LL.D., D.C.L. &c.

The following objects of interest were exhibited :—

By Mr. J. G. Hollingworth, through Mr. Jacob.

1. Grant of the Manor of Wilmington and Advowson of the Church of St. Mary, Bath; 10th June, 1363, 37th Edward III.
2. Grant of an Annuity; 16th November, 1592, 35th Eliz.
3. License of Alvication with Great Seal affixed; Dec., 1623, 20th James I.
4. Letters patent from the Crown, being a pardon to William Orange Esq. for acts done by him during the Commonwealth; 15th November, 1662, 14th Car. II.
5. A Recovery; 28th February, 1680, 32nd Car. II.

By Mr. Newton.

1. The original edition, "printed the year and month wherein "Rochell was lost, October, 1628," of "An Appeal to the Parlia- "ment, or Sion's Plea against the Prelacie" by Dr. Leighton. For this publication Leighton was sentenced by the Court of the Star Chamber in 1630, at the instigation of Laud, to pay a fine of Ten Thousand Pounds, to be degraded from his Ministry, to be set in the Pillory at Westminster and there whipped while the court was sitting; to be pilloried a second time and have one of his ears cut off, one side of his nose slit, and be branded on the face with "S.S." (Sower of Sedition); a few days after, to be pilloried again in Cheapside, there to be whipped, have his other ear cut off and the other side of his nose slit; thereafter to be shut up in a close dungeon for life. When this sentence was pronounced the archbishop took off his cap and thanked God for so just a judgment.
2. A volume of Cowper's poems, the edges of the leaves, when partially spread out, shewing a very pretty picture of the village of Weston. The design illustrated the skill and taste displayed in the art of book-binding at the beginning of the present century.

The following Papers were read :—

1. THE PRE-HISTORIC MAN OF CHESHIRE : AN ACCOUNT OF A HUMAN SKELETON FOUND UNDER THE LEASOWE SHORE IN WIRRAL,* *by Lieut.-General the Hon. Sir Edward Cust, K.C.H. &c.*†

2. GEOGRAPHICAL RESEARCHES AND DISCOVERIES IN CENTRAL AFRICA, BY THREE DUTCH LADIES,‡ *by J. A. Tinne Esq., F.R.G.S.*

* Transactions, p. 193. † See p. 249. ‡ Transactions, p. 107.

# APPENDIX.

## THE PRE-HISTORIC MAN OF CHESHIRE.

In the discussion which followed the reading of this Paper, (*vide* pp. 193 and 249) Mr. Henry Ecroyd Smith, Honorary Curator, said he felt it "incumbent upon him to protest against its assertions," declaring that "the skeleton was not found below, but several feet above the forest-bog "soil. The only peat beneath which it lay is a stratum only a few "inches thick composed of a residuum of a comparatively recent "marsh—not of the ancient wooded forest." Mr. Smith has since added the following remark—"Having treated this matter more at "length in another place, (viz., in *The Reliquary*, for April, 1865,) I "leave the issue with the greatest confidence to the judgment of those "who may take sufficient interest in the question to investigate it "thoroughly."

In support of his own views and in reply to Mr. Smith's objection, Sir Edward Cust procured the formal depositions of three persons more or less acquainted with the exact position in which the remains were found, the substance of them being as follows:—

1. Thomas Wilson, labourer, says, "On the 22nd January, 1864, I "was working at the Leasowe Embankment in the said county, and "that on the aforesaid day of January, while acting as ganger over "the navvies employed on the sea shore, I saw something that I at first "thought to be a rusty saucepan, laying in a spot where the tide had "washed away the peat soil, and that on pulling it up I found it to be "a skull, of which the lower jaw fell on the ground. I then took a "shovel and pickaxe and cleared away the blue silt which had gathered "about it; and seeing that it lay straight with some bones lying about "it that showed it to be a human skeleton, I went and reported it to "Mr. Jones."

2. Thomas Jones, Superintendent of the Leasowe Embankment, says, "On the 22nd of January (1864) I was called by Thomas Wilson "to inspect a skeleton that he had found upon the shore at the eastern "end of the embankment and that, on going to the spot, I saw several "human ribs and vertebræ lying on the silt below the ordinary bed "of peat, at least three feet below the surface of the peat formation "before the tide had destroyed it. That I personally overlooked the "careful removal of the remains to the office there; about five or six "days afterwards many persons called to see them, but that it was "about a fortnight subsequently to their discovery that Mr. Smith and "Mr. Moore came with men and instruments to inspect the place where

"it was found, but that the spot was already much filled up by the "progress of the tide and much fresh sand had been thrown upon it by "the intervening spring tide, which must have greatly altered the "ground, because a considerable portion of the sandhill had been at "that time washed into the hole and shore about it."

3. John Shergold, gardener to Sir Edward Cust at Leasowe Castle in Wallasey, says, "On the 23rd of January last (1864) I was informed "that the Embankment men had found a human skeleton on the shore, "and I went to the office of the Superintendent at the Township of "Moreton in the said county, and saw the bones laid out in order on "the floor; and that afternoon I proceeded to the spot where they were "found, near the centre of the large sandhill, and I think that when "first discovered it must have lain, by my observation, more than three "feet below the ordinary surface of the peat—that the sea had come "over the spot since the body was found, but that the bed on which it "lay exposed was composed of blue silt: although there was a mixture "of sand, silt and peat lying all about it, I have no hesitation in stating "that there must have been at least three feet of peat above the site "where it lay."

## ANNUAL EXCURSION.

On Wednesday the 3rd of August, 1864, a party of about ninety, comprising many ladies, several gentlemen not members, and a considerable proportion of the officers and other members of the Society, proceeded to Eaton Hall, the seat of the Marquess of Westminster, K.G., Lord-Lieutenant of the County of Chester. The visit was rather one of pleasure than in strict pursuance of the special objects of the Society, the intention of the gathering being to cultivate and increase social good feeling amongst the members, and to extend to their friends a similar expression of cordiality.

The hall, gardens and pleasure-grounds were visited, and the party dined in the open air on the banks of the Dee within the park, Mr. Buxton, F.R.S.L., occupying the chair, and Mr. Craig Gibson, F.S.A., Hon. Librarian to the Society, acting as Vice-chairman. The usual loyal and complimentary toasts were given after dinner, and the party safely returned to Liverpool in the evening, after having spent a holiday with universal satisfaction.

## SHAKSPEARE TERCENTENARY CELEBRATION.

A Special Meeting of the Society was held on the 20th of April, 1864, in celebration of the Tercentenary of the Birth of Shakspeare. It was attended by a numerous company of ladies and gentlemen, before whom the Rev. A. Hume, D.C.L. &c., one of the Vice-Presidents of the Society, delivered, in the large lecture hall, an Oration on Shakspeare, which is printed in this volume (see p. 43). The usual

meeting-room was appropriated to the exhibition of a collection of the early editions of Shakspeare and his contemporaries; and numerous medals, engravings, original sketches, portraits and relics were also displayed. The following list, prepared for visitors, is here reprinted, as it is thought desirable to preserve a record so highly interesting. Some remarks by John Fitchett Marsh Esq., the Chairman of the meeting and the chief contributor of objects, are added in elucidation of the value of early copies of Shakspeare.

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*I. Contributed by John Fitchett Marsh, Esq., Fairfield House, Warrington.*

FOLIO AND QUARTO SHAKSPEARES, VIZ. :—

1. First Folio, 1623.

Published at £1. A copy (and that imperfect, having the verses of Ben Jonson supplied in MS.), was last month (21st March, 1864), sold by Messrs. Sotheby and Co. for £273.

The following is the collation of the present copy :—

The verses have been supplied from a copy of the 4th edition; the title has been altered in fac-simile from the 2nd edition, and the portrait inlaid

In other respects it is quite perfect, with the exception of a few lines in fac-simile (which defies detection until held to the light), and contains the same misprints as are noticed in *Lowndes's Bibliographer's Manual*, with the following peculiar variations :—

Page 214 in the "Taming of the Shrew" is not misprinted 212.

Page 37 in "Richard II." is not misprinted 39.

Pages 54 and 55 in "Romeo and Juliet" are misprinted 55 and 54.

Page 309 in "Lear" is misprinted 307.

2. Second Folio, 1632.

A copy at the sale above mentioned realized £54 12s. The present fine and "tall" copy, measuring full 13¼ inches by 8¼ inches, has Ben Jonson's verses supplied from the first

issue of the 3rd edition; but is otherwise quite perfect, having the following variations from the collation given by Lowndes:—

Page 205, in the first series of numbers, is misprinted 208.

Page 49, in "Henry IV.," is not misprinted 45.

Page 85, in "Romeo and Juliet," is misprinted 58.

[The owner has two other copies of the 2nd folio in less perfect condition.]

3. Third Folio, 1664.

At the same sale this edition fetched £43 1s., and copies have sold as high as £51; and Mr. Dent's copy, with MS. emendations, £65 2s. The present copy is perfect, with the exception of the page containing the portrait and verses. The misprints in the pagination vary somewhat from the collation given by Lowndes; but it is unnecessary to notice them in detail, as the copies are known to differ.

[The owner has another copy of the 3rd folio.]

4. Fourth Folio, 1685.

A copy produced at the same sale, £23. The present is a "tall" copy (13¾ by 9 inches)—perfect, with the exception of the page containing the portrait and verses; and the collation agrees with that given by Lowndes, with the following variations:—

Page 164 in the first series of numbers is misprinted 160.

Page 169 in the same series is misprinted 171.

After page 272 is an unnumbered leaf, not mentioned by Lowndes, containing the "names of the actors."

5. A most pleasant and excellent conceited Comedie, of Sir Iohn Falstaffe, and the merry VViues of VVindsor. VVith the swaggering vaine of Ancient Pistoll, and Corporal Nym. Printed for Arthur Johnson, 1619.

This was Mr. Dyce's copy, and is marked by him as collated perfect. Mr. Halliwell's copy sold, in 1856, for £16.

6. A Midsommer nights dreame. As it hath beene sundry times publikely acted, by the Right Honourable, the Lord Chamberlaine his seruants. Printed by James Roberts, 1600.

Collated perfect. Mr. Halliwell's copy cost him £31 10s.

7. Loues Labours lost. A VVittie and pleasant Comedie, As it was Acted by his Maiesties Seruants at the Blacke-Friers and the Globe. W. S. for Iohn Smethwicke, 1631.

Mr. Halliwell's copy sold, in 1856, for £9. This is perfect.

8. The excellent History of the Merchant of Venice. With the extreme cruelty of Shylocke the Iew towards the saide Merchant, in cutting a iust pound of his flesh, And the obtaining of Portia, by the Choyse of three Casket . Printed by J. Roberts, 1600.

Perfect. Mr. Halliwell's copy sold, in 1859, for £21.

9. A wittie and pleasant comedie Called The Taming of the Shrew. As it was acted by his Maieties Seruants at the Blacke Friers and the Globe. By W.S. for Iohn Smethwicke, 1631.

Mr. Halliwell's copy, in 1859, sold for £5 17s. 6d This is perfect and "uncut," and consequently furnishes a standard of the original size of the quartos.

10. The Tragedie of King Richard the Second. As it hath beene publikely acted by the Right Honourable the Lord Chamberlaine his Seruants. Valentine Simmes, for Andrew Wise, 1598.

A copy sold for £13 10s., in 1845 The present wants several leaves.

11. The Tragedie of King Richard the Second: With new additions of the Parliament Sceane, and the deposing

of King Richard. As it hath been lately acted by the Kinges Maiesties seruants at the Globe. Printed for Matthew Law, 1615.

This was George Steevens's copy, and afterwards the Duke of Roxburghe's, and is perfect. As an instance of the altered value of Shakspearean books, it may be mentioned that at the sale of Steevens's library it fetched £1 12s., and at the Roxburghe sale 6d. more; whereas Mr. Halliwell sold his copy in 1859, to Mr. Tite, for £32 10s.

12. The Historie of Henry the Fourth. VVith the battell at Shrewesbury, betweene the King and Lord Henry Percy surnamed Henry Hotspur of the North. With the humorous conceits of Sir Iohn Falstaffe. Newly corrected, By William Shake-speare. By John Norton, and to bee sold by William Sheares, 1632.

This was George Steevens's copy, and is perfect. Halliwell's sold, in 1857, for £4 18s.

13. The Second Part of Henrie the Fourth, continuing to his death, and coronation of Henrie the fift. With the humours of Sir Iohn Falstaffe, and swaggering Pistoll. As it hath been sundrie times publikely acted by the right honourable, the Lord Chamberlaine his servants. By V. S. for Andrew Wise, and William Aspley, 1600.

This is the original edition, in which there is an omission of a whole scene. In this state a copy sold, in 1821, for £16. After the first issue the publisher cancelled two leaves, and substituted four others to remedy the mistake. Mr. Halliwell's copy in that state was sold to Mr. Huth, in 1857, for £100. The present copy belonged to George Steevens. It has a repaired corner and a leaf in fac-simile, but is otherwise perfect.

14. The Chronicle History of Henry the fift, with his battell fought at Agin Court in France. Together with

ancient Pistoll. As it hath bene sundry times playd by the Right Honourable the Lord Chamberlaine his Seruants. Printed for T. P., 1608.

This copy was successively owned by George Steevens and the Duke of Roxburghe, and is perfect. At the dispersion of their respective libraries it fetched £1 1s. and £5 5s.; but last month (21st March, 1864) a copy sold for £12.

15. The Tragedie of King Richard the third. Containing his treacherous Plots against his brother Clarence: the pittifull murther of his innocent Nephews: his tyrannicall vsurpation: with the whole course of his detested life, and most deserued death. As it hath been lately Acted by the Kings Maiesties Seruants. Newly augmented, By William Shake-speare. By Thomas Creede, and sold by Matthew Lawe, 1612.

The Roxburghe copy sold for £2 5s., in 1812; and no copy appears to have occurred for sale since. This is perfect.

16. The late And much admired Play, Called Pericles Prince of Tyre. With the true Relation of the whole Historie, adventures, and fortunes of the said Prince. As also, The no lesse strange and worthy accidents, in the Birth and Life of his Daughter, Mariana. As it hath been diuers and sundry times acted by his Maiesties Seruants at the Globe on the Banck-side. For Henry Gosson, 1609.

Title-page reprinted, and wants two leaves. A copy with facsimile title-page has sold for £21.

17. M. VVilliam Shake-speare, his True Chronicle History of the life and death of King Lear, and his three Daughters. With the vnfortunate life of Edgar, sonne and heire to the Earle of Gloucester, and his sullen and assumed humour of Tom of Bedlam. As it was plaid before the Kings Maiesty at White-hall, vppon

S. Stephens night, in Christmas Hollidaies. By his Maiesties Seruants, playing vsually at the Globe on the Banck-side. Printed for Nathaniel Butter, 1608.

A copy sold in 1856 for £22 10s. Query whether this or another edition, printed in the same year, was the "Lear of "1608" which last month sold for £34. The present copy is perfect.

18. The most excellent And Lamentable Tragedie of Romeo and Juliet. As it hath been sundry times publikely Acted by the Kings Majesties Servants at the Globe. Written by W. Shake-speare. Newly corrected, augmented, and amended. By R. Young, for John Smethwicke, 1637.

The last sale of a copy was at £8 15s. This is perfect, with the exception of a portion of the imprint being torn from the bottom of the title-page, probably for the fraudulent purpose of passing off the volume as a copy of the rarer edition of 1609, as it is lettered accordingly.

19. The Tragedy of Hamlet Prince of Denmark. Newly imprinted and inlarged, according to the true and perfect Copy last Printed. By R. Young, for John Smethwicke, 1637.

A perfect copy. It does not appear to have sold for more than £2 11s.

20. The Tragædy of Othello, The Moore of Venice As it hath beene divers times Acted at the Globe, and at the Black-Friers, by his Majesties Servants. The fourth Edition. Printed for William Leak, 1655.

Sold in 1856 for £4 8s. This is perfect.

21. The Whole Contention betweene the two Famous Houses, Lancaster and Yorke. With the Tragicall ends of the good Duke Humfrey, Richard Duke of Yorke, and King Henrie the Sixt. Diuided into two Parts: And

newly corrected and enlarged. Written by William Shake-speare, Gent. ("King Henry the Sixth.") Printed for T. P., *n.d.*, (1619.)

Perfect. A copy sold in 1854 for £11 5s. [The owner has a second copy.]

22. The First and Second Part of the troublesome Raigne of John King of England. With the discouerie of King Richard Cordelions Base Sonne (vulgarly named, The Bastard Fawconbridge:) Also, the death of King Iohn at Swinstead Abbey. As they were (sundry times) lately acted by the Queenes Maiesties Players. Written by W. Sh. Valentine Simmes, for Iohn Helme, 1611.

This is perfect, and was Steevens's and the Roxburghe copy. It was knocked down at their sales for £1 18s and £1 3s. respectively; but Halliwell's copy, in 1857, fetched £17 10s., which might have induced him to give it a place in his list of the quarto plays. He has not done so, on the ground (it is presumed) of its not being the genuine play of Shakspeare.

23 The Poems. 1640.

Copies have sold for £20. The present wants the portrait and second title-page.

MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS.

24. Gold, Silver and Bronze Medals of the Shakspearean Club of Stratford-upon-Avon, established April 23rd, 1824.

25. Bronze Medal struck on the Shakspeare commemoration at Stratford-upon-Avon, April 24th, 1816.

26. Miniature of Shakspeare, after Cornelius Janssen, in a frame made from the Poet's Mulberry Tree.

27. Sets of Writing Tablets, in wood, from the Mulberry Tree, carved with Shakspeare's arms and crest.

28. Snuff-box of early date, made from a branch of the Mulberry Tree, carved with Shakspeare's head, arms and crest.

29. Volume of Reminiscences of the Shakspeare Gala held at Stratford-upon-Avon in April, 1827.
30. Volume of rare Prints illustrative of Shakspeare's Seven Ages.
31. Collection of Engraved Portraits of Shakspeare, intended to illustrate an inlaid copy of the works of Boaden and Wivell.

SPECIMENS OF THE LITERATURE OF THE AGE OF SHAKSPEARE.

32. [Armin, Robert]. Valiant Welshman, 1663.
33. Beaumont, Francis. Wit without Money, 1639. Wants title.
34. [Brewer, Anthony]. Lingva, 1622.
35. [Chapman, George]. Bussy d'Ambois, 1646.
36. [Chettle, Henry]. Tragedy of Hoffman, 1631.
37. Daniel, Samuel. The Qveenes Arcadia, 1623. Edition not mentioned by Lowndes.
38. Day, John. Ile of Gvls, 1606.
39. Dekker, Thomas. Satiro-mastix, 1602.
40. ———— and John Foard. The Sun's Darling, 1656.
41. [Dorset, Thomas Sackville Lord, and Thomas Norton]. Tragidie of Ferrex and Porrex, n.d. (1571) small 8vo., black letter. The first English Tragedy. This was George Steevens's copy, but not the imperfect one sold with his library. This, on the contrary, is perfect and in remarkably sound condition. Bindley's copy sold for £16 10s.
42. [Drue, Thomas]. Life of the Dvtches of Svffolke, 1631.
43. Fletcher, John. Faithfvll Shepheardesse, n.d., 1st edition.
44. ———— Id. 3rd edition, 1634.
45. ———— Id. 4th edition, 1656.
46. ———— The Elder Brother, 1637.

47. **Fletcher, John.** The Night-Walker, 1661. Edition not mentioned by Lowndes.
48. ——————— Rollo Duke of Normandy. Oxford, 1640.
49. ——————— and Mr. William Shakespeare. Two Noble Kinsmen, 1634.
50. [Fletcher, Phineas]. Sicelides, a Piscatory, 1631.
51. [Ford, John]. Broken Heart, 1633.
52. ——————— Lover's Melancholy, 1629. Mr. Gilchrist's copy.
53. ——————— Loue's Sacrifice, 1633. Mr. Gilchrist's copy.
54. [Freeman, Sir Ralph]. Imperiale, 1655.
55. Goffe, Thomas. Raging Tvrke, 1631.
56. ——————— Covragiovs Tvrke, 1632.
57. Gough, J. Strange Discovery, 1640.
58. Greene, Robert. Euphues his censure to Philantus, black letter. Qy. edition of 1587, but wants title, and I have no means of collation. A copy has sold for £11 15s.
59. ——————— Arcadia or Menaphon, 1616, bl. letter. Title page reprinted. The Roxburghe copy sold for £4 14s. 6d. The address "to the Gentlemen Students" written by Nash (see sig. A 4 recto) contains an evident allusion to Shakspeare.
60. ——————— Alcida. Greenes Metamorphosis, 1617, bl. letter. Bib: Anglo-Poet: £7 7s.
61. ——————— Greenes Neuer too late, black letter. Qy. edition of 1621, the date having been cut off in binding, as was the copy referred to in Brydges' Censura Literaria, II, 271, with which the title and collation agree. Bib: Anglo-Poet: £10 10s.

62. Greene, Robert Greene's Groatsvvorth of Witte, 1621, black letter. Bib: Anglo-Poet: £7 7s. At sig. E. 4, recto, is the celebrated allusion to Shakspeare which has invested the name of Greene with special interest and caused his works to be in request.
63. ——————— Greenes Farewell to Follie, 1617, black letter. Bib: Anglo-Poet: £7 7s.
64. Heywood, Thomas. The Iron Age, 1632. Roxburghe, £3 10s.
65. ——————— Loves Mistresse, 1640.
66. Heywood, Thomas. If you knovv not me you know no bodie. 1st Edn. 1606. From Heber's Library, where it sold for £2 4s.
67. ——————— Id. Both parts, 1623; also from Heber's Library, selling for £1 18s.
68. Jonson, Ben. Fovntaine of Selfe love, or Cynthias Revels, 1601.
69. [Knevet, Ralph.] Rhodon and Iris, 1631.
70. [Kyd, Thomas.] The Spanish Tragedy, 1633. From Heber's and the Roxburghe Libraries.
71. Lodge, Thomas, and Robert Greene. Looking glasse for London and England, 1598, black letter, wants title. From Heber's Library.
72. Marlow, Christopher. Trovblesome Raigne &c. of Edward II, 1622.
73. Nabbes, Thomas. Microcosmus, 1637.
74. Nash, Thomas. Pierce Pennylesse, his Suplication to the Diuell, 1595, black letter, Bindley's copy sold for £4 14s. 6d.

75. Peele, George. Love of King David and fair Bethsabe, 1599. Wants two sheets. The White Knight's copy sold for £5 15s. 6d.
76. Shirley, James. Trivmph of Peace, 1633.
77. ———·——— The Traytor, 1635. Wants title.
78. Anonymous. Raigne of Edward III., 1599. From Heber's Library. Sold in 1821 for £5. It was printed by Capell as a play of Shakespeare.
79. ——————— Claudius Tiberius Nero, 1607.
80. ——————— Iacke Drvms Entertainement, 1616.
81. ——————— The Retvrne from Pernassvs, 1606.
82. Holinshead. The first, or Shakspeare, edition of Holinshead's Chronicle—black letter, fo., London, 1577. (Imperfect.)

II. *Contributed by James Kendrick, Esq., M.D., Warrington, Vice-President of the Society.*

83. Plaster-mask from the head of Shakspeare on his monument at Stratford.—*(Dr. Kendrick.)*
84. An Apostle-spoon of Silver, (date 1616) illustrative of a passage in the Play of Henry VIII.—*(Dr. Kendrick.)*
85. An ancient Leather Bottle, illustrative of a passage in the Play of Henry IV.—*(Warrington Free Museum.)*
86. A Carved Snuff-box and Tobacco-stopper formed of the wood of Shakspeare's Mulberry Tree at Stratford.—*(Warrington Free Museum.)*
87. A Small Box formed of the same wood as the last.—*(Miss Cowley, Warrington.)*
88. A copy, in gilt plaster, of the Gold Plate or Dish, executed for the Shakspeare Society of London.—*(Mr. Chandley, Warrington.)*
89. A piece of the oaken lintel of the fire-place at Shakspeare's House at Stratford, in which a small Palm-cross

was found embedded and concealed, together with the Cross itself.—*(Mr. John T. Picton, Warrington.)*

90. Retzsch's Outlines illustrative of Shakspeare's Plays.—*(Benj. Pierpoint, Esq., Warrington.)*

III. *Contributed by Joseph Mayer, Esq., F.S.A., &c., &c., Vice-President of the Society.*

91. A series of original drawings, illustrative of Shakspeare's Plays; consisting of the "Seven Ages," scenes from "Twelfth Night," the "Merry Wives of Windsor" &c., by J. M. Wright.—(*Mr. Mayer.*)

92. A drinking-cup made from the Shakspeare Mulberry Tree, carved by Sharp, Stratford.—(*Mr. Mayer.*)

93. Various other objects illustrating passages in Shakspeare's Plays.

94. Miniature of the Rev. J. Gastrell, who cut down the Mulberry Tree planted by Shakspeare. (*Mrs. Parker.*)

95. View of New Place, the residence of the Rev. J. Gastrell. (*Mrs. Parker.*)

96. The Arms and Crest of Shakspeare, cut from the Mulberry Tree.—(*Charles Steele, Esq., Rock Park*)

97 and 98. A Tobacco Stopper with a receptacle at the top for a nutmeg; and a toothpick with a silver ferrule, on the bottom of which is engraved, "A piece of the "Original Mulberry Tree planted by Shakspeare, the "Gift of Geo. Barlow, Esq." (—— *Smith, Esq., Seacombe.*

IV. *Presented to the Society by Gilbert J. French, Esq., Bolton.*

99 and 100. A Guidon and Pennon, each bearing the coat and crest of Shakspeare.

V. *Contributed by the Rev. A. Hume, D.C.L. &c., Honorary Secretary of the Society.*

101 and 102. Two Heraldic Sheets bearing, severally, the arms and crest of Shakspeare.

103. A "leathern bottel."

VI. *Contributed by the Rev. Geo. B. Meller.*

104. Rubbing, giving the Inscription on the tomb of Shakspeare in Stratford Church.

105. The like, of Shakspeare's Wife.

VII. *Contributed by J. R. Isaac, Esq.*

106. Specimen of the Shakspeare Memorial Bust.

107. Various engravings of scenes illustrative of the life of Shakspeare.

108. A Bust of Shakspeare in Wedgwood ware.

109. Howard's Shakspeare Illustrations.

VIII. *Contributed by R. Norbury, Esq.*

110. A historical picture of a Shakspeare subject.

IX. *Contributed by J. H. Gibson, Esq.*

111. Oil portrait of Shakspeare.

112. Mezzotinto do. do.

113. Photogram of Shakspeare's house.

114. Silver medal worn at the Jubilee, (Garrick's) in 1769.

X. *Contributed by the Library and Museum Committee of the Liverpool Town Council.*

115. Shakspeare's Works. Halliwell

116. Boydell's Plates, quarto.

XI. *Contributed by Nicholas Waterhouse, Esq.*

117. Retzsch's Outlines.
118. The Flowers of Shakspeare.

XII. *Contributed by A. Holden, Esq.*

119. Model of Shakspeare's Birth-place.
120. Zinco-photograph copies of the Folio Shakspeare.

XIII. *Contributed by R. Jones, Esq.*

121. Shakspeare Medals.

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List of the folio and quarto Shakspeares and editions of the Poems, published before the Restoration, shewing the highest and latest prices respectively at which they have been sold by auction in the present century, as quoted in Bohn's *Lowndes*, corrected by adding the result of a sale at Sotheby's, on the 21st March, 1864.

| | Highest Price. | | | Latest Price. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | £ | s. | d. | £ | s. | d. |
| First folio, 1623 ... ... ... ... ... | 273 | 0 | 0 | 273 | 0 | 0 |
| Second folio, 1631 ... ... ... ... ... | 54 | 12 | 0 | 54 | 12 | 0 |
| Third folio, 1664 (a copy with MS. emendations sold for £65 2s.) ... | 51 | 0 | 0 | 43 | 1 | 0 |
| Fourth Folio, 1685 ... ... ... ... ... | 23 | 0 | 0 | 23 | 0 | 0 |
| Hamlet, 1603. Only two copies known, one in the Devonshire collection, and the other bought by Mr. Halliwell for ... ... ... ... | 120 | 0 | 0 | 120 | 0 | 0 |
| ——— 1604. Only three copies known, of which one only has been publicly sold, and then in a lot of three volumes, at a price of which this was estimated as ... | 165 | 0 | 0 | 165 | 0 | 0 |

| | Highest Price. | | | Latest Price. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Hamlet, 1605. Said by some to be the same as the last. No copy has been publicly sold | | | | | | |
| — — n.d. W.S. for John Smethwicke | £24 | 10 | 0 | £24 | 10 | 0 |
| — — 1609. Its very existence is doubted ... ... ... ... ... | | | | | | |
| — 1611 ... ... ... ... ... | 31 | 0 | 0 | 31 | 0 | 0 |
| —— 1637 ... ... ... ... ... | 2 | 11 | 0 | 2 | 11 | 0 |
| Henry the Fourth, Part I, 1598. No copy has been publicly sold | | | | | | |
| — — — — 1599. (Mr. Daniel valued his copy at £200) | 75 | 0 | 0 | 75 | 0 | 0 |
| — — — 1604. No copy has been publicly sold | | | | | | |
| — — — —— 1608 ... | 15 | 10 | 0 | 12 | 12 | 0 |
| — — — — 1613 ... | 6 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 0 |
| 1622 ... | 9 | 0 | 0 | 9 | 0 | 0 |
| 1632 ... | 4 | 18 | 0 | 4 | 18 | 0 |
| 1639 ... | 8 | 0 | 0 | 8 | 0 | 0 |
| Henry the Fourth, Part II, 1600 (with four leaves substituted for two cancelled ones) ... ... ... | 100 | 0 | 0 | 100 | 0 | 0 |
| Henry the Fifth, 1600. Only one copy publicly sold ... ... ... ... | 27 | 6 | 0 | 24 | 3 | 0 |
| — — — 1602. Two copies known. None publicly sold | | | | | | |
| — — — — — — — — 1608 ... ... ... ... | 12 | 0 | 0 | 12 | 0 | 0 |
| Henry the Sixth. (Contention between Lancaster and York) n.d. (1619). This edition only is here noticed as published with Shakspeare's name ... ... ... ... ... | 11 | 5 | 0 | 4 | 4 | 0 |
| King John, 1611. Spurious, but bearing Shakspeare's name ... ... ... | 17 | 10 | 0 | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| 1622. Ditto ... ... ... | 17 | 10 | 0 | 17 | 10 | 0 |
| King Lear, 1608. First edit. Qy. this or the next sold in March, 1864, for | 34 | 0 | 0 | 34 | 0 | 0 |

| | Highest Price. | | | Latest Price. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| King Lear, 1608. Second edition ... | £22 | 10 | 0 | £16 | 16 | 0 |
| ——— 1655 ... ... ... ... ... | 11 | 11 | 0 | 11 | 11 | 0 |
| Love's Labour Lost, 1598. (Mr. Daniel valued his copy at £200)... ... | 53 | 11 | 0 | 40 | 0 | 0 |
| ——— 1631 ... ... ... | 9 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 6 | 0 |
| Merchant of Venice, 1600. Printed by J. Roberts ... ... ... ... | 21 | 0 | 0 | 21 | 0 | 0 |
| ——— 1600. J. R., for Thomas Heyes ... ... ... | 52 | 10 | 0 | 37 | 0 | 0 |
| ——— 1637 ... ... ... | 3 | 10 | 0 | 3 | 10 | 0 |
| ——— 1652. No copy quoted since 1817 ... ... ... | 2 | 9 | 0 | 2 | 9 | 0 |
| Merry Wives of Windsor, 1602 ... ... | 40 | 0 | 0 | 40 | 0 | 0 |
| ——— 1619 ... ... | 16 | 0 | 0 | 14 | 5 | 0 |
| ——— 1630 ... ... | 5 | 7 | 6 | 5 | 7 | 6 |
| Midsummer Night's Dream, 1600. Jas. Roberts. (Mr. Halliwell's copy cost him £31 10s.)... ... ... | 21 | 0 | 0 | 15 | 15 | 0 |
| ——— 1600. Thos. Fisher ... ... ... ... ... | 36 | 0 | 0 | 17 | 5 | 0 |
| Much Ado About Nothing, 1600 ... ... | 65 | 0 | 0 | 65 | 0 | 0 |
| Othello, 1622 ... ... ... ... ... | 56 | 14 | 0 | 21 | 0 | 0 |
| ——— 1630 ... ... ... ... ... | 16 | 16 | 0 | 5 | 15 | 0 |
| ——— 1655 ... ... ... ... ... | 4 | 8 | 0 | 3 | 10 | 0 |
| Pericles, 1609 ... ... ... ... ... | 21 | 0 | 0 | 21 | 0 | 0 |
| ——— 1611 ... ... ... ... ... | 14 | 3 | 6 | 14 | 3 | 6 |
| ——— 1619 ... ... ... ... ... | 4 | 4 | 0 | 3 | 4 | 0 |
| ——— 1630 ... ... ... ... ... | 5 | 12 | 6 | 2 | 9 | 0 |
| ——— 1635 ... ... ... ... ... | 1 | 15 | 0 | 1 | 15 | 0 |
| Richard the Second, 1597. Two copies known. None publicly sold | | | | | | |
| ——— 1598 ... ... ... | 13 | 10 | 0 | 13 | 10 | 0 |
| ——— 1608 ... ... ... | 30 | 10 | 0 | 30 | 10 | 0 |
| ——— 1615 ... ... ... | 32 | 10 | 0 | 32 | 10 | 0 |
| ——— 1634 ... ... ... | 13 | 13 | 0 | 13 | 13 | 0 |
| Richard the Third, 1597 ... ... ... | 41 | 9 | 6 | 41 | 9 | 6 |
| ——— 1598 ... ... ... | 17 | 17 | 0 | 17 | 17 | 0 |

| | Highest Price. | | | Latest Price. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Richard the Third, 1602 ... ... ... | £18 | 5 | 0 | £18 | 5 | 0 |
| ——— 1605. Two copies known. None publicly sold | | | | | | |
| ——— 1612. No copies quoted since the Roxburghe sale in 1812 ... ... ... ... | 2 | 5 | 0 | 2 | 5 | 0 |
| ——— 1622 ... ... ... | 4 | 4 | 0 | 4 | 4 | 0 |
| ——— 1629. Latest sale 1817 ... ... ... ... ... | 1 | 4 | 0 | 1 | 4 | 0 |
| ——— 1634. Ditto... ... | 0 | 9 | 6 | 0 | 9 | 6 |
| Romeo and Juliet, 1597. A mutilated copy sold for £1 1s., and the Devonshire copy cost Mr. Kemble | 30 | 0 | 0 | 30 | 0 | 0 |
| ——— 1599 ... ... ... | 10 | 10 | 0 | 5 | 15 | 6 |
| ——— 1609 ... ... ... | 86 | 0 | 0 | 86 | 0 | 0 |
| ——— N.D. For John Smethwicke ... ... ... ... ... | 23 | 0 | 0 | 23 | 0 | 0 |
| ——— 1637 ... ... ... | 8 | 15 | 0 | 8 | 15 | 0 |
| Taming of a Shrew, 1631 ... ... ... | 5 | 17 | 6 | 5 | 17 | 6 |
| Titus Andronicus, 1600. No copy publicly sold ... ... ... ... ... | | | | | | |
| ——— 1611. (Mr Daniel's copy cost him £30) ... ... ... | 7 | 10 | 0 | 7 | 10 | 0 |
| Troilus and Cressida, 1609. 1st edition | 16 | 0 | 0 | 16 | 0 | 0 |
| ——— 1609. 2nd edition | 15 | 10 | 0 | 15 | 10 | 0 |
| POEMS. | | | | | | |
| Venus and Adonis, 1593. Unique. Malone gave... ... ... ... ... | 25 | 0 | 0 | 25 | 0 | 0 |
| ——— 1594 ... ... ... | 116 | 0 | 0 | 116 | 0 | 0 |
| ——— 1596 ... ... ... | 91 | 10 | 0 | 91 | 10 | 0 |
| ——— 1600. No copy publicly sold ... ... ... ... ... | | | | | | |
| ——— 1602. Two copies known ... ... ... ... ... | 42 | 0 | 0 | 40 | 0 | 0 |
| ——— 1617. No copy publicly sold ... ... ... ... ... | | | | | | |
| ——— 1620. Ditto | | | | | | |

| | Highest Price. | | | Latest Price. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Venus and Adonis, 1627. Two copies known ... ... ... ... ... | £115 | 0 | 0 | £115 | 0 | 0 |
| ——— 1630. No copy publicly sold ... ... ... ... ... | | | | | | |
| ——— 1636 ... ... ... | 56 | 0 | 0 | 56 | 0 | 0 |
| Rape of Lucrece, 1594. (Mr. Holford's copy cost £100) ... ... ... | 58 | 0 | 0 | 58 | 0 | 0 |
| ——— 1598. Unique. Not publicly sold ... ... ... ... | | | | | | |
| ——— 1600. No copy publicly sold ... ... ... ... ... ... | | | | | | |
| ——— 1607 Ditto ... ... | | | | | | |
| ——— 1616 ... ... ... ... | 23 | 10 | 0 | 23 | 10 | 0 |
| ——— 1624 ... ... ... ... | 9 | 0 | 0 | 6 | 8 | 6 |
| ——— 1632, Steevens's copy was knocked down for ... ... | 0 | 15 | 0 | 0 | 15 | 0 |
| ——— 1655 ... ... ... ... | 25 | 10 | 0 | 25 | 10 | 0 |
| Passionate Pilgrim, 1599. Unique. In 1620 changed hands for three halfpence, as recorded by the purchaser, and would now be cheap at £100... ... ... ... | | | | | | |
| ——— 2nd edition. No copy known ... ... ... ... ... | | | | | | |
| ——— 1612. No copy publicly sold ... ... ... ... ... | | | | | | |
| Sonnets, 1609... ... ... ... ... ... | 154 | 7 | 0 | 154 | 7 | 0 |
| Poems, 1640 ... ... ... ... ... ... | 20 | 0 | 0 | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| | £2682 | 5 | 0 | 2513 | 6 | 6 |

From the above list the spurious plays usually catalogued under Shakspeare's name are omitted, except in cases where his name appears on the title page. Several volumes are also omitted, the existence of which, though mentioned by bibliographers, seemed too doubtful to warrant their insertion. There remain 96 volumes, of

which 19 are either unique or so rare that no copies have occurred for public sale in the present century. Of the remaining 77, the highest and the latest prices respectively realized by public auction are shewn in parallel columns. The former might at first sight appear a fallacious criterion of their market value; but when it is considered that the price throughout the century has been steadily rising (in many cases twenty-fold)—that in 56 cases out of the 77 the highest price is also the latest—that in the remaining 21 the small reduction in price, on the occasion of the most recent sales, may have arisen from accidental circumstances of condition—and that, in some instances, the comparatively low price quoted may be accounted for by the fact of no copy having been offered for sale since the general advance in value—it seems probable that, for the general purpose of stating an average, the highest sum realized may fairly be taken as the amount which a copy in good condition might be expected to sell for at the present day. The value on that basis of the 77 volumes above quoted is shewn to be £2682 5s., being an average of about 33 guineas per volume. The adoption in each case of the latest price as the test of value would only reduce the average to about 31 guineas. If this represents the present market value of the 77 volumes which have occurred for public sale, it would seem a very low estimate to set down each of the 19 much rarer volumes, which are only to be met with in certain great libraries, at three times that amount, from which it follows that a series consisting of the four folios, and a copy of each of the editions of the plays and poems published within forty years after Shakspeare's death, would represent a market value of not less than £4,500, and would probably realize very considerably more.

Note.—It has not been thought desirable to disturb this record of the supposed value of a set of the early Shakspeares at the date of the Tercentenary, by substituting for any of the prices quoted those realized at subsequent sales: but the dispersion of the magnificent collection of the late Mr. George Daniel, on the 26th July, 1864, after making due allowance for the exceptionally fine condition of many of his copies (and especially the first folio), furnishes a comparison too

curious to be omitted, with the prices quoted in the text. The result is here given:—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| First Folio | £716 | 2 | 0 |
| Second Folio | 148 | 0 | 0 |
| Third Folio | 46 | 0 | 0 |
| Fourth Folio | 21 | 10 | 0 |
| Hamlet, 1611 | 28 | 7 | 0 |
| Henry the Fourth, 1599 | 115 | 10 | 0 |
| Henry the Fifth, 1600 | 231 | 0 | 0 |
| King Lear, second edition, 1608 | 29 | 8 | 0 |
| Love's Labour Lost, 1598 | 246 | 10 | 0 |
| Merchant of Venice, 1600 (pr. Thomas Heyes) | 99 | 15 | 0 |
| Merry Wives of Windsor, 1602 | 346 | 10 | 0 |
| Midsummer Night's Dream, 1600 (Roberts) | 36 | 0 | 0 |
| ——— 1600 (Fisher) | 241 | 10 | 0 |
| Much Ado about Nothing, 1600 | 267 | 15 | 0 |
| Othello, 1622 | 155 | 0 | 0 |
| Pericles, 1609 | 84 | 0 | 0 |
| Richard the Second, 1597 | 341 | 5 | 0 |
| ——— 1598 | 108 | 3 | 0 |
| Richard the Third, 1597 | 351 | 15 | 0 |
| Romeo and Juliet, 1599 | 52 | 10 | 0 |
| Titus Andronicus, 1611 | 31 | 10 | 0 |
| Troilus and Cressida, 1609, first edition) | 114 | 9 | 0 |
| Venus and Adonis, 1594 | 240 | 0 | 0 |
| ——— 1596 | 315 | 0 | 0 |
| Rape of Lucrece, 1594 | 157 | 10 | 0 |
| Sonnets, 1604 (cost Narcissus Luttrell 1s.) | 225 | 15 | 0 |

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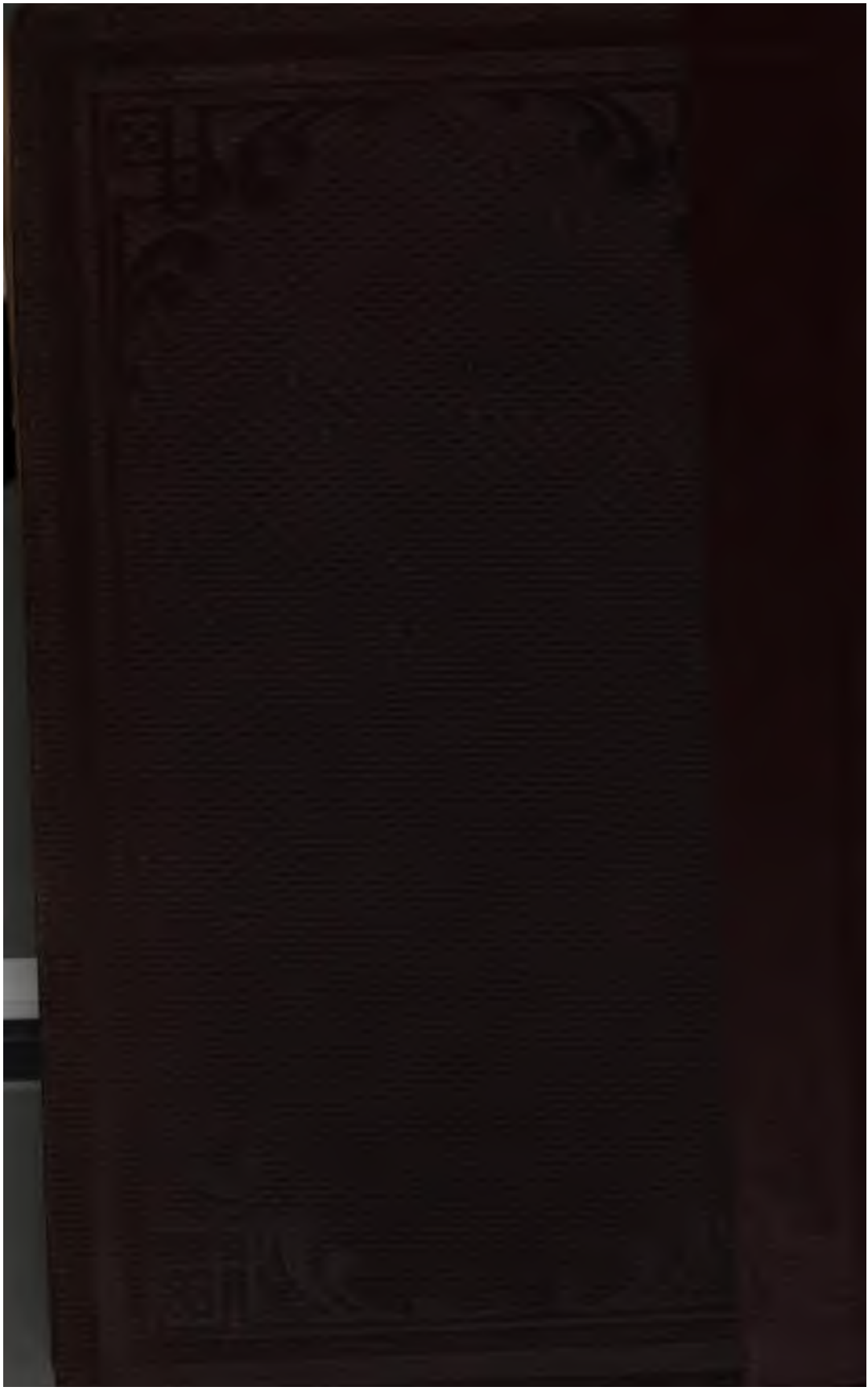
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